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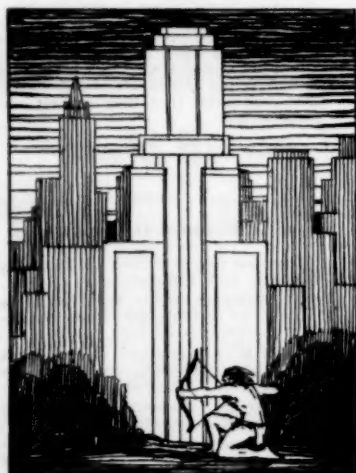
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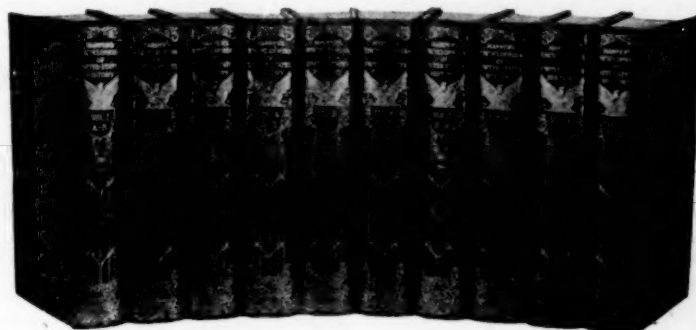
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Phases of Fascism*

BY PROFESSOR HERBERT WALLACE SCHNEIDER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MANY FORMS OF FASCISM

There is a dictionary, I am told, in which psychology is defined as "the various and varying obsessions of psychologists." Similarly fascism is best explained as the various and varying doings of fascisti. There are fascisti and fascisti. Fascism today is not that of yesterday, nor does anyone know in what direction fascism will turn tomorrow. It changes with the political weather. Every country has its hard-shell political orators and editors who are persistently consistent and have eternal principles. They go under defeated, but not refuted. In our own country we are familiar with such individuals, but not with such parties. In Italy, the parties themselves became infected with moral principles and resolved to perish rather than to refashion their ideas. This fate has overtaken the opposition in Italy. It is the proverbial fate of those who fight for principles. The fascisti, on the other hand, like our own parties, fight for power; they manage to retain their government by adapting their minds to circumstances. Long ago Machiavelli taught that fortune, being a woman, loves the young and bold. And in Italy today the young and bold are called fascisti.

What I have to say, therefore, centers about two general themes: first, that fascism is changing continually; it is a movement, not a party; a government, not a doctrine. Second, that the real issues and conflicts are now within the movement and not between fascism and the opposition. As long as the opposition was alive, fascism showed a solid front to the foe, but now that the opposition is largely emigré, the internal differences are coming to the fore. Recently the cry was raised among those fascisti who were a little homesick for parliamentary debate, "How can we live without an opposition?" The answer was ready and obvious, "The opposition we have within us." Everyone now does lip-service to fascism, but each rolls his own brand. Everyone worships Mussolini, but his *own* Mussolini. Like God, Mussolini unites his warring children in theological union.

It is a common saying that there are as many fascisms as there are fascisti. I am, therefore, conscious of oversimplifying the facts in presenting to you only five major types. These are (1) squad-

rists, (2) ex-socialists and ex-republicans, (3) nationalists, (4) idealists, (5) syndicalists. I shall merely define the types, and leave you to calculate the permutations and combinations.

1. THE SQUADRISTS

The squadrists are the so-called "original and only genuine" brand. A *fascio* is a band, group or club; a militant band is a squad. Literally fascisti are *banditi*. Probably nothing more would ever have been heard of these *fasci* had they not turned militant and violent. The squadrists fall into two general groups: (a) the *arditi* and futurists; (b) conservative liberals. The first group is constituted of war veterans who loved the war and saw no reason for not fighting out internal political issues in the same way in which they had fought out international ones. They supplied the volunteers for d'Annunzio's expedition on Fiume; they first wrecked socialist printing plants; they first wore black shirts and carried black banners. They are young adventurers whose violent patriotism is but one aspect of their general ardent romanticism. I cannot stop to describe political futurism. Suffice it to say that futurism in Italy is not confined to the so-called fine arts. The whole point of the movement is that the creative artistic spirit must break the bonds of the traditional arts. War is an art and a battle is literally a poem. The finest art must be acted, and the best stage for acting is war, politics and industry. For these realms are the greatest challenge to art; they are dominated by the dead weight of institutions and yet they are pre-eminently fields of action. Let artists rule! Under this slogan they launched forth with appropriate rites and costumes and began to "slay the past," as their phrase has it.

These knight-errants of the future were counter-balanced by a more business-like group of squadrists, whom I have called the conservative liberals. You probably are aware of the fact that in Italy the liberal-democrats are the conservatives and the champions of big business. The sons of factory owners and landed proprietors became squadrists when their fathers' property was menaced by the socialist local governments and by the communist national strikes. They frankly entered the field to protect their own interests. As the class war became more intense these upper class squadrists hired large numbers of the other type of squadrists, bona fide, disinterested soldiers of Italy, to fight with and for them. This led to those organized raids or punitive

* An address delivered before the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland, at Atlantic City, November 26, 1927.

expeditions which finally broke up the red revolt. Occasionally bona fide squadrist attempted the more positive tasks of government. But in this they were less successful. Squadrist government is best illustrated in the case of Florence, where in 1920 the notorious squadrist, Dumini (later one of the Matteotti murderers), with Banchelli and other associates tried to govern the economic life of the city. They paraded the streets with signs "Prices must come down," and when prices refused to come down, merchants were beaten up and brought to a "military tribunal" where they were threatened with more drastic treatment. In the market place, as Banchelli characteristically says, the squadrists "planted the tri-color among the vegetables" and tried to force food prices down. They enjoyed a temporary success, but their funds were soon depleted and their upper-class comrades refused to finance such tactics. In disgust the squadrists abandoned what they called the filthy political game and confined their efforts to occasional beatings and emergency murders.

The squadrist type of fascist has now officially disappeared from the scene. I say officially, for though there is practically no squadristism at present, and though the government has repeatedly urged the regular police to use vigorous measures against recurrences of fascist violence, the squadrist nevertheless remains in the background of the fascist picture, hidden in the shadows, but a potential force and an ever present help in time of trouble.

2. THE EX-SOCIALISTS AND EX-REPUBLICANS

The second general type of fascist I have mentioned is the ex-socialist or ex-republican politician. This is Mussolini's type. From the start his conception of fascism was political. He talked violently and his *theory* of fascism was revolutionary, but his actions were political. He sponsored the fighting, but he did not indulge in it. He immediately adopted party tactics. He ran for parliament, though he despised it. The story of how the fascist politicians finally seated themselves in the cabinet is too intricate to tell here. Suffice it to say that they cleverly shifted with the political winds, made useful alliances and finally in October, 1922, used the threat of squadrist violence to force a national coalition headed by Mussolini. In 1919 the program of the Milan fascio, led by Mussolini and the futurist, Marinetti, had been radical republicanism proportional representation, abolition of the Senate, down with monarchy and church,—in short, a radically democratic platform modelled in detail on the new German constitution. But in 1922 Mussolini found himself seated on the extreme right wing of the Chamber, bound hand and foot to the nationalists and practically pledged to the monarchy and to a *laissez faire* economics.

Unable, or at least unwilling, to take the whole government upon themselves in October, 1922, these fascist politicians allowed the national bureaucracy to remain practically intact. They contented themselves with a few cabinet posts and relied on their local power and their party organization to do the

work. The workings of the Fascist Party soon became notoriously bad and its ill repute grew rapidly until the Matteotti affair overwhelmed it in a wave of popular indignation.

3. THE NATIONALIST GROUP

The fiasco made by these politicians threw the control into the hands of a third group of fascisti; that is, the nationalists. The Nationalist Party, or rather since it disdained to call itself a party, the National Association, was by this time composed of veteran politicians. They had begun their careers back in 1910, had urged the country into the Tripoli War and had ever since dominated the foreign policy of Italy. By allying themselves with the fascisti in 1921, they lent the movement a respectability and dignity which it had not enjoyed before. It was the nationalists who helped the fascisti into power, who came to their rescue at the Matteotti crisis and who now furnish the political backbone and brains of the government. When in March, 1925, Federzoni, the nationalist leader, forced Farinacci, the typical fascist local boss and ex-socialist politician, to resign from the leadership of the party, this event signified more than a mere personal rivalry; it meant that control had passed definitely into the hands of this third group, the nationalists. The practical consequence of the nationalist predominance in the government was the submerging of internal issues in the interests of carrying on an aggressive foreign policy. Mussolini himself said, when he took power, that his task as Minister of the Interior was essentially a mere police job, and that his chief positive efforts would go into the field of foreign policy. *Laissez faire* internal economics and high diplomacy in foreign affairs—this is the traditional nationalist conception of government. As a result of this attitude on the part of the national government, local government was left largely in the hands of provincial fascist bosses, who, in general, belong to the second group mentioned above, and who found their stronghold in the Fascist Party hierarchy. Thus, if you will permit me to make a broad generalization to which there are many exceptions, the Fascist Party has been running the internal affairs of Italy, while the government has been conducting foreign affairs. The foreign policy is boldly imperialistic and is now aimed primarily against Yugoslavia and France, in an effort to force these countries into extensive concessions in various parts of the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the supposedly simple police job of internal and local government proved exceedingly difficult and the fascist politicians proved exceedingly scandalous. The Matteotti crisis and still more the recent economic crisis have forced the national government to take a more serious and positive attitude toward internal affairs and toward the need of house-cleaning within the party.

The party politicians have accordingly been attacked by both the first and the third groups mentioned, that is, by the squadrist fighters or the old guard on the one hand, whom Mussolini kept out of the government as much as possible and who look

upon the whole political game as sour grapes, unworthy of the heroic spirit of fascism and, on the other hand, by the national government, by Mussolini and his ministry. The climax of this conflict came in the fall of 1926, when a new constitution of the party was passed abolishing all elections within the party and all general conventions, concentrating power in the hands of the Grand Council and packing the Grand Council with members or tools of the government. The powers of the provincial party secretaries were continually curtailed and the prefects were ordered by Mussolini to exercise absolute authority, he promising them his unqualified support. This process is technically known as "purification." Theoretically it is directed against the remnants of the old bureaucracy which were spared by the fascist revolution, but really it strikes a blow at the all too independent, undisciplined, autonomous and so-called "intransigent" fascist politicians. On the whole, this dictatorship has been accepted loyally by the politicians, in the spirit of discipline, which is the fascist term for political necessity; but there is still a vigorous discussion in fascist circles on the question of the status of the party. On the one extreme is an influential group of the younger journalists who want fascism to be an aristocracy; that is, an autocratic government by the new élite, who, however, must themselves be accorded the perfect freedom which genius always requires. On the other hand, there is a persistent demand by the more conservative and liberalist elements both within and without fascism, that the party be abolished entirely as a political factor, and be retained merely as an educative, cultural, or spiritual institution.

4. THE GROUP OF IDEALISTS

The spiritual side of fascism is the chief concern of the fourth group mentioned above, the idealists. Philosophical idealism in Italy has been preoccupied with combating the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church. It has tried to lend the halo of sanctity to the secular state. Benedetto Croce, to be sure, turned to art and science rather than to politics in his attempt to erect a secular home for the spirit; for, to his mind, the modern state is essentially an economic, not a moral or spiritual institution. But his younger colleague, Giovanni Gentile, is less exclusive and sees spirit in every and any act. Consequently, when fascism came along with its national enthusiasm and spontaneous devotion to the state, he and the great majority of the younger idealists espoused the cause and became the official champions of fascist culture.

Fascism seeks to embody not merely the Italian state, but Italian culture. It wants to have the first place in the affections and imagination of the people. It wants to be the Church's rival on the Church's own ground. This raises a problem quite different from the old problem of church and state. It is not primarily a political problem, but a cultural one. Fascism gained its first victory over the Church by surrendering to Catholicism. Fascism is Catholic,

absolutely Catholic; because the Italian nation is Catholic. Whatever is national must be fascist. If it be objected that the Catholic Church is international, the fascist reply is that really it is Roman, imperial. Other nations have embraced the Roman faith when it was brought to them; but Italy has produced it. It is at home in Italy, an importation elsewhere. The spread of the Roman church is, therefore, a phase of Italy's "spiritual imperialism," a recognition on the part of other peoples of Italy's moral primacy. The Church is but the organized form of Italian religion. Hence the Italian state, far from renouncing affiliation with the Church, must recognize it, protect it, and incorporate it into the organic unity of the nation. The state itself must be religious, Catholic. This doctrine is two-edged. The state is spiritualized, but the Church is nationalized. And here's the rub. The Church is cordially accepting the one half and dogmatically rejecting the other. Fascism insists on the whole of it. Not that it tries to subordinate spiritual authority to temporal. Never! It denies the distinction. Church authority is just as ultimate in its sphere, as medical authority in its. But, since religion is only one phase of the life of the spirit, according to the idealist doctrine, and is really co-ordinate with science and art, it is not the independent ultimate good of life which the Church claims it to be; and since the whole life of the nation must be included in the *stato etico*, it follows that religion must be included as one part or phase of that organic, spiritual unity which finds its total embodiment in the state.

But the great majority of the fascisti are quite ignorant of and indifferent to this religious philosophy. They are willing to make their peace with the Church for political reasons, but they personally have no interest in giving fascism a religious flavor. Consequently, now that Gentile is no longer in the government, his successors are adopting a more superficial policy. They are catering to the Church not only politically, but intellectually as well. The Church is reviving its institutions of higher learning and asserting its doctrines more freely. Recently it has attempted to dictate in matters of educational control, has protested against obnoxious professors, has banished textbooks (other than religious) from the schools, and is regaining a little influence in the universities. Gentile immediately opposed these moves and publicly rebuked the responsible ministers for surrendering part of the authority which rightly belongs to the state. Thus it is possible, if politicians rather than educators should get control of the educational system, that the Church may succeed in re-establishing its intellectual respectability, and that neo-scholasticism rather than national idealism may become the official theology of the fascist faith. But for the present this hardly seems probable. For the idealist philosophy and Gentile's reform of the schools are but phases of the more general competition between church and state to win the affections of the people.

5. THE SYNDICALISTS

But another phase of fascism has for the time being captivated fascist imagination and fascist politics; that is, syndicalism.¹

Patriotic syndicalism had made its way in Italy quite independently of the fascist movement. In 1915 an I. W. W. leader named Edmundo Rossoni had founded a journal in New York called "*L'Italia Nostra*" with the motto, "Not to deny, but to win our country." (*La Patria non si nega, si conquista.*) During the war he served as secretary to the Chambers of Labor in several Italian cities and was active in the *Comitato sindacale italiano*. In May, 1918, this *Comitato* was transformed into the *Unione italiana del lavoro*, and Rossoni immediately became its secretary and his motto became the battle cry.

Rossoni's syndicalism was the champion of the strange combination: patriotism and revolution. Hence it found itself in opposition to both the communist international "reds," and the reformist Socialist Party entrenched in the government, to say nothing of the more conservative parties of the country. It made little progress among the industrial workers, who were dominated by the internationalistic bolshevist group, but found a foothold among rural workers and small proprietors, especially in Romagna and Tuscany, the stronghold of the revolutionary republican patriots, who were in that region the chief political enemies of the socialists. In March, 1919, when Rossoni's *Unione* needed friends badly, it found a new one at Milan. Mussolini, who was then organizing his first fascio, and who also needed friends badly, suggested an alliance between fascism and syndicalism. He asked the *Unione* to declare openly against (a) bolshevism, and (b) the general strike. If it were willing to do so, he saw no reason why they might not co-operate. On the invitation of Rossoni, the leaders of these various groups of national syndicalists met together on October 17, 1921, at Ferrara, where Rossoni was secretary. A plan of union of all these groups was discussed and a national congress of syndicates called for January 24, 1922, at Bologna. In the meantime, November, 1921, at the Fascist Congress, an alliance with the syndicalists was discussed and Michele Bianchi, then Secretary General of the newly made party, was sent to the Bologna Syndicalist Congress to make the offer of union. As a result of these moves the *Unione federale italiana delle corporazioni* was formed.

This in outline is the story of how fascism and syndicalism came to be united. Fascism needed labor support and syndicalism needed political weapons. It was a forced marriage, and both parties had to, and still have to make large concessions and adjustments, as a result of which both are being radically transformed. For syndicalism it meant that its leaders had concluded from their tried, but turbulent experience that in Italy a purely economic syndicalism is impracticable. Conflicting interests among the various leaders and among the various groups of

workers, as well as between leaders and workers, kept the movement in continued disruption. And even if it were possible to unify Italian labor, its bargaining power is too weak to force capital by purely economic pressure to make perceptible concessions, since labor is the one thing which is always plentiful in Italy. The Italian worker is too near the bare maintenance level and too destitute of funds to be able to wage effective economic warfare. Only by intimidating the government could labor hope to get any power over capital. Hence, if the paradox of a really revolutionary government could be found, syndicalism might succeed. This paradox was found in fascism. Though the syndicalist leaders were at the time very loath to sacrifice their autonomy to a political alliance, they stooped to conquer. After the March on Rome, they not only were reconciled to their political partner, but became the very life and soul of the fascist bureaucracy.

For fascism, on the other hand, this marriage meant that its leanings toward a liberalistic economics and its obligations toward the bourgeoisie would have to be sacrificed eventually to a politics of government control over labor organization and thus, indirectly, to a detailed regulation of the economic life of the nation. Both parties were soon forced to approach what each had rebelled against—state socialism.

Fascism and syndicalism were much more readily identified in theory than in practice, and the March on Rome, which was supposed to be the final victory for national syndicalism as well as for fascism, really proved to be the beginning of its hardest battle. For since then it has been compelled to fight not other labor organizations, but other fascisti.

The labor organizations of the other parties had slight chances of offering serious resistance to Rossoni's fascist corporations, after these had achieved the prestige of His Majesty's official syndicates.

Labor leaders of all parties began to get on the fascist band-wagon, just as other politicians did. And Rossoni immediately gave them employment. They were sent all over the country to carry on the accustomed "syndical action." They continued to appeal to the proletariat against the exploiting bourgeoisie with all the "demagogy" that they had been accustomed to practice before their conversion to fascism. In some factories and to a greater extent in the country, they forced surplus labor on the owners, precisely as the socialist monopolies had done before. Here and there strikes were declared, supplemented on occasion by the clubs of squadristi. In Romagna and Emilia local fascist bosses like Farinacci, who were favorable to the syndicates, forced employers who "exploited the new patriotic discipline of the workers for their own selfish interests" to submit to the fascist syndicates. The success of these activities was due in part to the desperate belief among laborers that their only refuge lay in these syndicates and in part to the system instituted whereby labor organizers were paid by the number of membership cards they were able to sell.

The success of the corporations split the fascist politicians into two groups: one group, which included most of the petty politicians and opportunists, objected to syndicate autonomy and wanted the fascist party to take over the syndicates and embody them into the political machinery of the bureaucracy. The other group, the right wing and liberals, resented syndicate monopoly as a revival of class antagonism and demagoguery.

Originally practically all the active syndicalists were adverse to embodying the syndicalist organization into the political machinery of the fascist party. For though they were more than willing to be closely affiliated with the government and to have an official position within the fascist movement, they insisted on autonomy, when it came to party politics. The reasons for this were partly personal jealousy, the syndicalist hierarchy being unwilling to subordinate itself to the political hierarchy of the party, partly a well-grounded suspicion. For the majority of squadrists and the early crop of fascist politicians were quite ignorant of syndicalist affairs, and some of them were even openly hostile. But when the intimate alliance between national syndicalism and fascism became evident, and syndicalism became well established, fascist office seekers poured into the syndicalist ranks by the score, and threatened to corrupt completely an organization which was none too pure to begin with. The syndicalists were apparently flattered at first by their sudden popularity, and opened their doors cordially. But they soon realized their mistake and an open clash arose between the party leaders and the syndicalists. The party leaders wanted only registered members of the fascist party to be admitted into the syndicates, which would have reduced the syndicate membership enormously. The syndicalists asserted that joining a fascist syndicate was tantamount to becoming a fascist and that therefore membership in the party itself was to be optional. The party leaders urged that the syndicates become administrative organs of the government; the syndicalists urged that they could operate more effectively if left autonomous.

THE CORPORATE STATE

Rossoni and his so-called "integralist" followers have tried persistently to unite capital and labor in great national "mixed" syndicalist "corporations," but they have failed. In place of this ideal, three great economic organizations have been created which form the basis for the new "Corporate State": (1) a group of employers' confederations; (2) a confederation of labor syndicates; and (3) the Ministry of Corporations. The employers' federations are the following six:

1. National Fascist Confederation of Industry.
2. National Fascist Confederation of Agriculturalists.
3. National Fascist Confederation of Merchants.

4. National Fascist Confederation of Maritime and Aerial Transportation.

5. National Fascist Confederation of Land Transportation and Inland Navigation.

6. National Fascist Confederation of Bankers.

The six corresponding labor federations have been confederated into The National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates, headed by Rossoni. To these has been added a thirteenth, the Federation of Fascist Syndicates of Intellectuals. These federations draw up "collective contracts" which govern the economic life of the nation and which are obligatory on all persons in the economic group concerned, whether members of the syndicates or not. The collective contracts are enforced by special labor tribunals, which now form an integral part of the national judicial system. This forces the people of Italy into two great hostile camps, capital and labor, effectively organized for class warfare. To prevent this last, the Ministry of Corporations has been organized and this ministry is responsible for leading the great rival federations into the paths of peace and co-operative production.

A decree of March 17, 1927, definitely established the nature of the corporations. The presidency of each corporation is to be assigned to some citizen who has distinguished himself "in production, labor or in the direction of public offices." He is to serve without salary. In the various provinces the local functions of the Ministry of Corporations are to be assigned to some official of the prefecture or of the Ministry of National Economy. This will be done directly by the Ministry of Corporations, and hence these largely nominal bodies will be not merely "organs of the state," as the theory demands, but really mere additional powers for present politicians. The corporation thus represents little more than a continual threat which the government can use against refractory confederations. At best it is a name for the implicit co-operation of the various classes in production, which, the more habitual and spontaneous it becomes, the more it automatically transforms Italy into a "corporate state." In a sense, almost anything the Minister of Corporations does may be called an act of the corporate state. For instance, every now and then he calls together the secretaries of the party, of the Confederations of Industry, and of the Confederation of Syndicates, to examine some problem, *e. g.*, industrial policy, wage policy, or the high cost of living. Such meetings really perform the function of corporations. But the corporations have more than a nominal value; their psychological value is very important. At last the ideal of Rocco, Rossoni, and the "integralists" has an official sanction and a legal basis, however much its practical embodiment may have changed.

The most significant political consequence of these developments is that the corporationalist leaders have shifted their tactics and are now concentrating on demanding a corporate parliament and economic representation. The trend in this direction became so strong that Mussolini himself announced the year

1927 as "the corporate year" and even dropped a casual reference to an economic parliament in place of the "worn-out one." Mussolini's words have a thousand echoes; and the slightest mention by him of such a possibility is enough to set the whole scheme on its feet. There was a sudden rush of political job seekers into the syndicates. Mussolini added that the reform of representation could not be carried out all at once, but would begin "at the periphery of the state." This was generally interpreted to mean that municipal syndicalistic elections would be held first and if they proved successful, the system would be widened until, finally, an economic parliament would be formed. The conservative fascist papers immediately took this hint to dampen any rising suspicions that general elections were imminent. The syndicates, they said, need not expect that the present régime is ready to turn over the government to a new crowd of "electioneers."

Nevertheless, on May 26, 1927, the boldest expectations of the corporatists were justified, when Mussolini in his big address to the Chamber definitely announced that in 1929, at the end of the present parliament, the present chamber would be supplanted by a Corporate Chamber "elected by the corporate organizations of the state." Finally the Grand Council of the Party in November, 1927, announced that the Ministry of Corporations would select the candidates for the new parliament, that its candidates would be ratified by the Grand Council, which would also make its own additions to the list of candidates and that then this approved list would be submitted to the thirteen federations for "election." The elections will presumably be conducted by the syndicates, but they are, of course, purely formal. Nevertheless, this scheme was not put forth as final. It was definitely stated that when the syndicates become more "mature," they will be given greater power. This marks at least a slight official recognition of the pressure which syndicalism is bringing to bear on the politicians in the direction of economic democracy.

The Rossoni group are urging parliamentary reform not so much as an end in itself, but as one more effort to get the Corporations definitely organized. Their idea is that the new parliament should be elected by genuine Corporations. For if the syndicates elect it, the state will not be a genuinely integrated, corporate state, since parliament would divide immediately into the capital and the labor parties. The genuinely corporate parliament, on the other hand, must represent the specific "horizontal" interests and activities of the nation, not the "vertical" classes. This principle is generally accepted by all fascists. But now that the parliamentary reform is definitely planned, Rossoni urges that the organization of genuine unified corporations is a necessary preliminary, for there must be definite organizations to carry on the election of representatives and other political functions. Thus Rossoni hopes that by means of the movement for parliamentary reform, he can gain the unified corporate organization of the nation for which he has held out consistently, but in which he has so far been frustrated.

In this he will probably be disappointed, for with the direction which the organization of the Ministry of Corporations has taken, an elaborate "integral" organization merely for election purposes is hardly possible. It is all the more improbable, because at the same time Mussolini announced the new chamber he also took the trouble to "bury universal suffrage" officially and to attack election machinery in general.

Sooner or later, however, the issue will have to be faced between authority from below and authority from above, between syndical organization and fascist hierarchy, between some form of democracy and some form of dictatorship.

But this issue will arise within the syndicates as well as between the syndicates and the bureaucracy. For, at present, it is difficult to tell whether the internal structure of the syndicates is democratic or not. In their origin and general spirit the syndicates are highly bureaucratic. The important decisions and contracts are made by the great national confederations, and representation in these is very indirect. As we have pointed out, the national employers' confederations are each autonomous, but the confederation of labor syndicates is highly centralized and dominated by Rossoni. The whole movement was directed from above by a few leaders who imposed their representatives on the local units.

On the other hand, according to the new constitutions in all the Confederations, employers' as well as workers', the President is elected by the Congress (or general council) of the federation, which is composed of representatives of the provincial congresses, which, in turn, are composed of representatives chosen by the members of the local syndicates. So that on paper, at least, the syndicates have representative government. Also the congress of the federation must approve the budgets and vote on all important issues, financial or others, which concern the federation. The President is appointed for three years (in some cases two years), and the congress must meet at least every two years. In addition, the Confederation of Syndicates has a National Council, which includes representatives of the provincial federations and the executive directors, and this must meet at least once a year. At present the Rossoni administration seems to enjoy unquestioned support and prestige, and a real test case of the workings of syndicate government remains for the future.

"AN AUTHORITARIAN DEMOCRACY"

In any case, it is already evident that the *theory* which accompanies these constitutional reforms is not democratic. For even those fascists who are most eager in urging a reform of representation do so not in the name of a return to democratic institutions, but in the name of carrying the fascist revolution to completion. Mussolini, at the climax of his speech of May 26, 1927, boldly "announced to the world the creation of the powerful, united State of Italy....and this state is expressed in an accentuated, organized, authoritarian democracy, in which democracy the people circulate freely." This is, of course, confused

language, but the mere fact that democratic terminology is used, marks a significant change.

Economic representation must not be conceived too democratically, though it is, of course, more democratic than the earlier fascist doctrine. It may be that members of syndicates have the vote, but what makes the state really representative, is not this syndical suffrage, but the government's capacity to interpret and co-ordinate the various economic interests in the nation. The fascist doctrine of representation is more like Hobbes' than Rousseau's: the ruler "represents" the people because he, so to speak, stands up for them. On the other hand, the fascist doctrine of sovereignty is more like Rousseau's than like Hobbes', for, according to the fascisti, it is the organized people itself, and not their government which is sovereign. Only it is not the aggregate of atomic citizens of Rousseau, but the hierarchy of associated producers that constitutes the sovereign state. Or, in other words, no man is a member of the state except in so far as he is part of an association which represents one of the interests of the nation. "The fascist revolution aims to transform, not to suppress the basis of popular sovereignty."²

In view of these developments it is impossible at present to pass a final judgment on the government of the corporate state. In any case, however, the *stato fascista* of the fascist party is being enlarged into the *stato corporativo* of the syndicates. Though

the two are generally loosely identified, some fascist writers go so far as to say that fascism was merely a violent prelude and necessary means to the introduction of national syndicalism. At this, other and "purer" fascists are visibly disconcerted. Mussolini himself was willing to say to a foreign correspondent, though for foreign consumption, that fascism is a "dictatorship tending towards democracy." But whatever language is employed, the fact is clear, that the emphasis is rapidly shifting from the *fasci*, the militia, and the party hierarchy, to the national hierarchy of syndicalist associations as the foundation of the "fascist" régime and the essence of the fascist revolution.

These remarks may indicate a few of the revolutionary changes which are under way and which are transforming the fascist state into a single national, centralized workshop. It is idle to argue whether the state has been turned over to economic interests or the interests subjected to the state. The right wing of the party insists that the corporate state is a glorified individualism; the left wing thinks it to be the triumph of the people "over the threatened capitalist insurrection." The simple fact is that the political and the economic orders are being fused into the corporate state, and government is frankly becoming political economy.

¹ See my article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, June, 1927.

² *Critica Fascista*, February 1, 1927, p. 41.

United States Foreign Policy Since the World War

Paper I.

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INTRODUCTION

There is a tradition in American history that the United States has no foreign policy, or in less extreme form, that there is no continuity in American foreign policy. Historians are much to blame for this misconception, as most of them have persisted in writing American history from the standpoint of isolated and unrelated episodes, rather than from the standpoint of the development of ideas, policies, and movements. While it is true that the United States, in most phases of its foreign relations, has placed relatively less emphasis upon basic principles of policy than some European powers, the difference is primarily a matter of relative stress rather than an absence of policy. Even this distinction applies only to some phases of foreign relations, as few nations have held more tenaciously to a line of policy than the United States has held to the principles embodied in the so-called Monroe Doctrine, or persisted with less deviation from a primary objective over an equal period of time.

Sustained popular interest in public questions seems impossible in democracies. Each question, as it impinges upon public consciousness, tends to be registered as a relatively new or wholly new experience. With responsible public officials this is less true than

is popularly supposed. While it is possible in dealing with domestic questions to reverse public policy or to make a radical change in direction, it is much more difficult in foreign affairs, and, indeed, frequently impossible. It is a basic principle in international law that obligations assumed by one administration or government are binding upon its successors until honorably dissolved. Every incoming administration finds itself bound to a considerable degree by its predecessors. This is especially true on all routine matters and on questions of continued national interest. As new developments arise, they must be dealt with in accordance with existing precedents, obligations, and commitments. Another determining consideration is the matter of prevailing interest; economic, military, and political. These national interests change slowly and policies derived from them necessarily show only a gradual modification. Whatever personal or party opinions may be expressed before election, the incoming administration must conform to the existing conditions. A few illustrations will explain this fact more concretely. In 1889 the Harrison administration joined in the triple protectorate in Samoa. Cleveland, although he disapproved the whole procedure, was obliged to execute the

agreement. In Hawaii the revolution of 1893 was carried out with the connivance of American officials and the annexation treaty was drafted. Cleveland, after his inauguration, wished to restore the queen, but was obliged to abandon his plans for righting what he considered to be a wrong done by the United States. An episode of a different nature is Hay's policy respecting the open door in China, 1899-1900. There is a tradition repeated in most histories that Hay originated the open-door policy, but a reading of the correspondence shows plainly that Hay had in mind the Taiping rebellion of the eighteen-fifties and refers to the policy of 1857. His policy was based on principles and precedents of American Far East policy of nearly a half-century's standing, which he adapted to the situation in hand. Numerous examples will also be seen in the present discussion, none of which is more important to contemporary politics than the attempt of the Harding administration to ignore the League of Nations. The explanation of that failure lies in the fact that the League was the outgrowth of years of development in which the United States had actively participated. Co-operation in League activities represented continuity of policy. The short-lived refusal of Harding and the Senate to co-operate represented a change in direction, which could not withstand the driving force of continuity of interest and policy.

In speaking of American foreign policy, 30 November, 1923, Secretary Hughes opened his address with the following statement:

"Foreign policies are not built upon abstractions. They are the result of practical conceptions of national interest arising from some immediate exigency or standing out vividly in historical perspective. When long maintained, they express the hopes and fears, the aims of security or aggrandisement, which have become dominant in the national consciousness, and thus transcend party divisions and make negligible such opposition as may come from particular groups....Statesmen who carry the burdens of empire do not for a moment lose sight of their imperial purposes and requirements....When we have a clear sense of our own interests we are as inflexible as others."

The influence of the misconceptions concerning lack of continuity in policy is vicious in contemporary politics. The public is prone to assume that, as questions arise, the attitude of the government is determined by the facts alone, or by ideals of right and justice, or possibly by corrupt and selfish interests of officials. It is quite probable, however, that a careful examination of a problem as a whole, in relation to its background, will reveal that an important and possibly a deciding element in determining action in the situation arises out of a basic policy of long standing. The real problem is how to meet the particular local situation in such a manner as to carry out most effectively the underlying line of policy. Thus, in Nicaragua, the broad policy of the dominance of the United States in the Caribbean area is the determinate, while the internal political squabbles of Nicaragua are merely the local variant. The question of which faction is right or wrong is subordinate

to the larger question of national interest. The approach to foreign relations from the standpoint of policy is usually an illuminating experience to the student of American history. A word of caution, however, is not out of order. The extremes to which the factual and episodic historians have gone should stand as a warning not to go to the opposite extreme when adopting a different method.

Another important criticism of the traditional approach to American diplomatic history is the dominance of the political aspect of foreign relations, even to the exclusion of foreign economic and military policy. When the economic and military rivalries of the modern industrial states are generally recognized as determining elements in world history, and the United States has been for some three-quarters of a century one of the half dozen of the world's most important industrial states, it is obvious that there is something lacking in American history when diplomacy is written in terms of political relations alone. In the last analysis political policy has no meaning except as it is the political expression of the varied interests of the state. Certainly, two of the most important of the varied international interests are economic opportunity and national security, and these must find their place in diplomatic history.

The United States is the only major nation in the modern world whose history has been written exclusively by its nationals. This tends to explain many of the defects of American historiography, both in domestic history and in foreign relations. There is a lack of objectivity and perspective, a strong nationalistic tone, and a refusal or at least a failure to accept candidly certain obvious facts. For instance, why should certain policies be labeled imperialism when practiced by European nations and the same or similar policies of the United States be presented in all standard histories as the reluctant assumption of the duties of civilization in the interests of an unselfish and enlightened idealism? This justification deceives no one, except Americans.

The history of the other major nations has been written and rewritten by the ablest historians of various nations, and from many angles. At present there is not so much as one European historian who has established a reputation for scholarship in the field of the history of the United States. Few Europeans know enough of American history to criticize the United States and its policies intelligently. Almost as few Americans know enough of their own history to recognize its inadequacies or to appreciate the appropriateness of intelligent foreign criticism. The growing interest of Europe in American history is one of the most important recent developments in American historiography, and when it becomes productive will certainly tend to check the dry rot which permeates so great a portion of the field. Americans are going to have to face a greater and greater amount of unpalatable analysis. Pollard's *Factors in American History*, written by a British historian for the British public, is a notable recent interpretation. Unfortunately, it is based upon secondary American

materials, but nevertheless it is of considerable interest to Americans, and is some indication of what may be done when foreign historians shall approach the subject from the sources.

FOREIGN TRADE

The foreign trade of the United States has been going through a series of readjustments to post-war conditions which makes generalization difficult. Fluctuations are frequent and sometimes radical. For that reason, five-year averages are probably more indicative of conditions. Using 1911-1915 as a base of 100, the annual average for 1921-1925 shows an increase in the value of exports of 84 per cent. The increase to 1922 was 61 per cent. and to 1925 was 107 per cent. For imports, the annual average for 1921-1925 shows an increase of 101 per cent. The increase to 1922 was 81 per cent. and to 1925 was 147 per cent. The annual average per capita exports for 1911-1915 were \$23.98 and for 1921-1925 were \$37.97, but for 1925 were \$41.14. The annual average per capita imports for 1911-1915 were \$17.46 and for 1921-1925 were \$30.15, but for 1925 were \$35.66. The ten leading exports in order of their importance in 1925 were as follows, with the position in 1913 indicated in parenthesis: raw cotton (1), petroleum (3), machinery (2), automobiles (15), wheat and flour (5), copper and its products (4), tobacco (12), animal fats and oils (7), cotton manufactures (11), iron and steel (6). The ten leading imports were: crude rubber (4), raw silk (5), coffee (1), sugar (3), wool (13), paper (19), furs (15), petroleum (20), hides and skins (2), tin (8).

Among exports, raw materials decreased in relative importance from 30.13 per cent. in 1913 to 29.34 per cent. of the total in 1925. Food products, raw and manufactured, declined from 20.82 per cent. in 1913 to 18.50 per cent. in 1925. Semi-manufactures also declined from 16.83 per cent. in 1913 to 13.73 per cent. in 1925. Manufactured products are the only group that increased in relative importance, being 31.97 per cent. in 1913 and 38.26 per cent. in 1925. Among imports, the situation is practically reversed. Crude materials increased from 35.04 per cent. in 1913 to 40.72 per cent. in 1925. Crude and manufactured food products were practically stationary at 22 per cent. Semi-manufactures decreased from 19.27 per cent. to 17.87 per cent. Manufactures decreased from 22.51 per cent. to 18.83 per cent. The tariff and the growth of the industrial system placed a premium on imports of raw materials and exports of manufactures. The United States is rapidly becoming a converting nation, manufacturing goods from the world's raw materials, not to be consumed only at home, but to supply a large part of the world with finished products.

RAW MATERIALS PROBLEM

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a renewal of imperialism throughout the world. Accompanying this movement the mercantile theories of economics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were revived in modified form and are usually referred to as neo-mercantilism. The dominant

idea was to create self-supporting empires, both in war and peace, through control of all essential raw materials and adequate market outlets. The protection of these empires entailed the maintenance of powerful military establishments. The United States had followed the drift of events during the same period along with the other industrial nations. However, instead of this imperialism creating independent and self-sufficing empires, they became more and more interdependent. The industrial demand for raw materials drew upon every portion of the globe, regardless of the political boundaries fixed by governments.

As steel is one of the basic industries of the modern economic system, it serves admirably to illustrate this fact of interdependence, not only for the United States, but for all nations. In 1921 the president of the United States Steel Corporation compiled a list of materials used in the steel industry which it was necessary to import. This list covered fourteen and a half typed pages, and included 40 commodities from 57 different countries. Copper is imported from Chile, Portuguese Africa, Mexico, Canada, and Peru in considerable quantities. Americans have investments in Chile, Peru, Mexico, and Canada. Lead is imported from Chile, Peru, Mexico, and Canada. Iron ore comes from Sweden, Chile, Cuba, and North Africa. Manganese is an alloy metal used in such high duty products as steel rails and structural steel. From 1 to 3 per cent. of the manganese consumed in the United States is of domestic production. The chief sources of this metal are Brazil, India, and Russia. In June, 1925, it was reported that Americans had secured a concession in Russian Georgia to operate manganese mines. Chromium is another alloy metal of vital importance and is used in armor plate, rifles, machine guns, various kinds of high-speed tools for industrial purposes, and in all kinds of engines, cutlery; in fact, anywhere the highest quality of steel is needed. It is also important outside the steel industry, as in tanning and printing. Domestic production is negligible. The chief sources of the metal are Rhodesia, New Caledonia, Asia Minor, Russia, and Brazil. Americans control mines in New Caledonia. Tin is not produced in the United States. The United States uses half the world's output and is the largest producer of tin plates. The world's supply of tin comes from the Malay Peninsula and the East Indies, although recently deposits in the Bolivian Andes have been worked. Palm oil is essential for making tin plates and is produced in British West Africa and the Belgian Congo. Nickel is not produced in the United States, but is another essential alloy metal, being used in armor plate, ordnance, bridges, steel rails, and heavy duty machinery. A list of the alloys of nickel covers five printed pages. Canada is the source of this product, and American capital controls a large portion of the mines. Tungsten is essential for both peace and war purposes, 90 per cent. to 95 per cent. of it being used in tool steel, but it is also essential in electric light elements. The

United States produces little of the metal. During the pressure of the world war, production ran as high as 12 per cent. to 25 per cent. of consumption, but none was produced in 1921 and 1922. China is the chief source of this ore, but Bolivia, Portugal, and Spain produce small quantities. Vanadium is one of the newest alloy metals, and is produced in the Andes of Peru. The Vanadium Company of America, a United States firm, operates the mines, carrying the ore to Pittsburgh.

As the United States is the largest user of these alloy metals, which are essential both in peace and war, it is only to be expected that American interest is directed toward the sources of their production. What is true of the steel industry is also true of other industries—leather, paints, cordage and jute, vegetable oils, rubber, etc. Great publicity has been given to the fact since 1922 that nine essential raw materials are controlled abroad by combinations of foreign producing organizations, in some of which governments participate. The list usually given is sisal by Mexico, nitrates by Chile, iodine by Great Britain, potash by Germany, rubber by Great Britain and the Netherlands, quinine by the Netherlands, tin by Great Britain, mercury by Spain and Austria, coffee by Brazil, and quesracho by Argentine and Paraguay. Long staple cotton, produced under British government encouragement and assistance, is also sometimes included.

Besides these "controlled" raw materials there are many others on which the United States is absolutely dependent for its supplies. Raw silk and camphor are practical monopolies of the Japanese. The air service and the artillery would be severely handicapped without Japanese silk, which is used for cartridge bags in heavy ordnance and for parachutes in the air service. Wood oil, a Chinese monopoly, is the base of most waterproof varnishes. The United States uses four-fifths of the supply. Political disorder in China has seriously interfered with production. Shellac and jute are monopolies of British India and are of such importance that it is almost inconceivable to be without them. A large part of American cocoa comes from Ecuador and since 1918 the crop has been financed by American interests.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

The World War found the United States a debtor nation. Foreign investments in the United States were estimated at four and a half billion dollars, and United States investments abroad at between two and two and a half billions. By 1925 foreign investments in the United States stood at about three billion dollars and United States investments abroad at twenty-one billions. In 1924 the United States held four and a half billion dollars' worth of gold, or about half of the world's supply. For the first time in American history the people in large numbers have become investors in foreign securities of all kinds, a fact which cannot fail to arouse a wider interest in foreign affairs, and be reflected in public policy. When there is added to the number of investors in foreign

securities the number of Americans interested in productive enterprises abroad and those interested in foreign commerce, it is evident that a substantial number of Americans have reason to become interested in foreign policies. In connection with the recent disturbances in the vicinity of Shanghai, China, for example, a magazine published a list of 27 American firms operating manufacturing plants at that place.

UNITED STATES ECONOMIC POLICY: LOANS

In view of the fact that the United States is a creditor nation in a large way, and, for the time being, at least, the world's financial center, particular interest attaches to the manner in which the United States uses this unique position. It must be recognized as a place of tremendous potential economic and political power from the standpoint of government policy. The Department of State took action in the matter by issuing a formal statement 3 March, 1922, on foreign loans policy. In part, it is here quoted:

"The flotation of foreign bond issues in the American market is assuming an increasing importance, and, on account of the bearing of such operations upon the proper conduct of affairs, it is hoped that American concerns that contemplate making foreign loans will inform the Department of State in due time of the essential facts and of subsequent developments of importance....

"The Department of State cannot, of course, require American bankers to consult it. It will not pass upon the merits of foreign loans as business propositions, nor assume any responsibility whatever in connection with loan transactions. Offers for foreign loans should not, therefore, state or imply that they are contingent upon an expression from the Department of State regarding them, nor should any prospectus or contract refer to the attitude of this Government. The Department believes that in view of the possible national interests involved it should have the opportunity of saying to the underwriters concerned, should it appear advisable to do so, that there is or is not objection to any particular issue."

Somewhat later, 26 August, 1924, A. N. Young, economic adviser of the Department of State, made fuller exposition of policy: "The purposes to which foreign loans may be put are a matter of concern to the Department of State. It is obviously desirable that American capital going abroad should only be utilized for productive purposes....The Government of the United States could not but object to the utilization of American capital for militaristic ends. In short, the Department of State could not be expected to view with favor the utilization of American capital abroad in such manner as to prevent or make difficult the carrying out of essential American policies, nor to promote the carrying out abroad of policies inimical to the proper interests of the United States. The Department obviously could not view with favor proposed arrangements involving provisions that might rebound to the injury of relations between the United States and the borrowing country."

The foregoing expressions are to be taken only as

statements of general policy. The government is free to vary its procedure in special cases to suit its own particular purposes and the circumstances—a discretion which it has exercised freely. In an address 24 October, 1924, Coolidge expressed gratification "that American capital has been able to facilitate the carrying into effect of the Dawes plan," but declared that these "loans are made without commitments on the part of this Government." In the Caribbean area government loan policy has gone much beyond a mere public expression of gratification. In 1922 a Cuban loan of twenty million dollars was approved in accordance with the Platt amendment commitments of 1901. During the military occupation of Santo Domingo by the United States loans were made in the name of the Dominican government. The first loan in 1921 announced that the Military Government would not withdraw until a treaty was made validating the loan. The second loan was offered to the public 5 March, 1922, with the statement that:

"The issue of these bonds has received the approval of the United States Government, required by the terms of the American-Dominican Convention of 1907, and the Secretary of State consents to the inclusion in the bonds of the following statement:

"The acceptance and validation of this bond issue by any government of the Dominican Republic as a legal, binding, and irrevocable obligation of the Dominican Republic is hereby guaranteed by the Military Government of Santo Domingo...."

A loan to the Republic of Salvador was offered to the public in October, 1923, and in the advertisements in the press the following statements were included:

"The United States of America and El Salvador have entered into an exchange of formal diplomatic notes with reference to this loan, by which Salvador on its part assures the United States that it will co-operate in every respect with the Government of the United States and the bankers in carrying out the terms of the loan contract, and the United States on its part takes cognizance of the terms of the loan contract and states that the Secretary of State of the United States is prepared to carry out the stipulations with reference to him in Articles IX, XIX, and XXIII of the loan contract, should it be necessary to do so." The security was a first lien on 70 per cent. of the customs revenues collected by a representative of the Metropolitan Trust Company in San Salvador. The safety of the loan as an investment was emphasized in italics in these words: "The history of Government bonds secured by Customs Revenues collected by agents of the bondholders or by representatives of foreign governments is without a record of default." These examples are sufficient to illustrate clearly and concretely the use the government of the United States is making of foreign loans in furtherance of its political policy in the Caribbean area.

In the international, economic warfare for raw materials, foreign loan policy plays its part. In 1925 Brazilian authorities sought loans from American bankers and were refused at the instance of the government on the ground that the price of coffee was

being forced above a fair price through the coffee combination. Hoover issued a statement 12 November: "The administration does not believe the New York banking houses will wish to provide loans which might be diverted to support the coffee speculation, which has been in progress for the past year at the hands of the coffee combination in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Such support would simply bolster up the extravagant prices to the American consumer." The loans desired were then secured in London. In connection with Hoover's rubber war during 1925 and 1926, it was widely understood that if the states interested in rubber should apply for loans they would receive the same treatment from the American government.

The inter-allied debt problem offered another opportunity for the application of the coercive influence of the disapproval of loans. The Italian debt settlement was made during November, 1925. Loans were also pending, but were not concluded until after the debt settlement. It was then understood that the loan of 100 million dollars received the approval of the United States government. The case of France occasioned the most drastic use of these methods. Loans to France were disapproved during 1925 and then on account of the efforts made to restore the franc a rumor started that the ban was lifted. The administration then restated the policy of the United States to the effect that the government will not stand in the way of private loans to any country that has funded its war debt to the treasury, provided that such loans are of a reasonable nature and to be devoted to the improvement of the borrower's general economic condition; that is, constructive loans. It was reported in February, 1927, that France had finally been able to secure loans through Dutch and Swiss bankers and in that way circumvented the capital blockade of Washington and London.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN SERVICE

The campaign for the reorganization of the diplomatic and consular services has continued for more than a generation. The most important measure since the world war is the Rogers act of 24 May, 1924. The distinction between the two services was dropped, the reorganized service being named the United States Foreign Service. All officers below the rank of minister were designated foreign service officers and may be assigned to either field of activity or transferred from one to the other. Appointments are made on examination and appointees are assigned to the Foreign Service School for one year. Promotions are made on the basis of merit under the direction of a personnel board. Salaries were raised, so that the range of salaries is \$3,000 to \$9,000. Such a thoroughgoing reorganization is quite in keeping with the opening of a new era in American relations with the world, and the larger political and commercial interests of the country.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND FOREIGN TRADE

Formerly the consular service furnished the chief government agency of trade promotion, but recently the work of the Department of Commerce has par-

tially superseded it, through the medium of the commercial intelligence division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The work of the division is organized on the commodity basis, through the instrumentality of trade agents, who gather information throughout the world. In order to prevent excessive duplication of the commercial work of the consuls of the State Department and the trade agents of the Commerce Department, President Coolidge issued an executive order 4 April, 1924, directing that American representatives stationed in the same foreign city meet every two weeks for consultation.

Within the United States the information gathered by the trade agents is disseminated through *Commerce Reports* published by the department and by special trade reports of various kinds. In order to bring the work of the department more directly into touch with domestic needs, the country is divided into districts, and branches of the bureau are established in the leading commercial city of each district, to make contacts with local import and export firms. At the close of 1926 there were seventeen branches in operation and plans were announced for the opening of six more.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES

The commercial privileges of the merchants of one country in another are determined primarily by commercial treaties. The American type of commercial treaty contains the conditional most favored clause, by which a concession granted to one state is not extended to a second state, except on condition that the second can or will grant an equal or equivalent concession in return. This policy is the inheritance from the early days of the republic, when the rest of the world maintained the closed door or discriminations. The purpose was to secure equal trade privileges for Americans. In the course of the nineteenth century Europe came to adopt the open door in commercial relations and with it the unconditional most favored nation clause. This type of clause meant that when a concession is granted to one state it automatically extends equally to all states with most favored treaties. The effect of the American policy of special concessions, or reciprocity based on the conditional most favored nation treatment under these conditions, tended to develop a discriminative commercial warfare for special trade concessions, instead of open door and equality of treatment. In other words, the same policy on the part of the United States operated in the opposite way at the end of the nineteenth century to what it did in the beginning of the century. American reciprocity tariffs since 1890 have been based on the principle of special favors. The United States was out of harmony with the world tendencies toward equality of treatment.

Since the world war there has been a quite general tendency to revert to conditional most favored treaties and discriminatory treatment of foreign commerce on the basis of reciprocity. France led in 1918 by denouncing her most favored nation treaties. This action was followed by the law of 29 July, 1919, which

provided for greater flexibility of tariff arrangements. Here the term flexibility means variation from equality of treatment. The French interpretation of the term "equitable treatment" in the League of Nations Covenant was that it meant discriminatory treatment, which would vary among different countries, according to conditions, on the reciprocity basis. Spain and Italy tended to follow the French lead. In the United States many of the nationalists stood for the same thing, and, to a certain extent, wrote their point of view into the merchant marine act of 1920. By 1924 the Spanish and French commercial treaties negotiated with Germany showed a practical return to about the pre-war standards of equality of treatment. The whole problem of tariffs, and import and export restrictions and prohibitions, however, still remains a source of international irritation.

In 1923, under the direction of Secretary Hughes, a change in commercial policy of the United States was inaugurated with respect to commercial treaties. The new commercial treaty with Germany marks the new departure. It was signed 8 December, 1923, but was not ratified till 10 February, 1925, after a hard fight with the extreme nationalists, who insisted upon the right of discrimination. The treaty contained the European type of unconditional most favored nation clause. The administration, in recommending the treaty for ratification, made this new form an issue and an occasion for the formal declaration that future commercial treaties were to be made on this basis. A state which asks for equality of treatment for itself in the world's markets is in an embarrassing position when it refuses to grant equality to others. Most American commercial treaties are old and need general revision, a process which it is intended to carry out as rapidly as possible. This squares the United States on this point for the first time in recent history with the prevailing commercial practice of the world.

THE TARIFF

Americans have been accustomed to look upon the tariff as a purely domestic policy. This view was emphasized especially in connection with the League of Nations debates, and at that time it was made clear that no interference with the tariff as a domestic policy would be approved by the United States. From the standpoint of the economic relations of states with each other, tariff policies are clearly foreign economic policies and as such are of international concern. The tariff act of 1922 set up excessively high duties on many classes of manufactured articles, some of them even prohibitive. According to Taussig's analysis the duties on all but the finest grade cotton and woolen goods are prohibitive. This affects the British particularly. Most manufactured silk duties are prohibitive. These affect France, Japan, and China. The duty on toys was made prohibitive in order to close the door to Japanese toys and to prevent the recovery of the toy market by the Germans. The cotton glove duty was designed also to shut out German goods. The duties on certain varieties of cutlery, such as knives, clippers, and razors, amount to from 75 per

cent. to 400 per cent. *ad valorem*, and had the same purpose. Chemicals and dyes received radical protection in the emergency revenue act of 1916, and the schedules were reorganized in 1922 and very high duties imposed to prevent Germany regaining pre-eminence in the American market. The special justification here was the close relation of chemicals and dyes to the manufacture of explosives for war purposes. The militant nationalistic sentiment demanded American independence and self-sufficiency in that industry.

The average rate of duty under the tariff of 1913, based upon total imports, was 7.4 per cent. *ad valorem* for the period it was in force, while the average under the act of 1922 for the three years following was 14.5 per cent. The average rate of duties, based upon dutiable imports alone, was 21 per cent. and 35.4 per cent., respectively. Sixty-six per cent. of the imports were free under the former act, while only 60 per cent. were free under the latter. According to economic classes, the following table indicates the percentages of free imports:

FREE IMPORTS BY ECONOMIC CLASSES

Year	Crude materials	Crude food and animal products	Mfg. food	Semi-mfg.	Mfg.
1910	77.0%	78.5%	5.2%	43.2%	17.7%
1914	86.8	81.4	16.3	62.9	28.4
1919	89.0	88.2	12.5	65.6	48.8
1920	87.2	88.8	10.0	68.2	43.4
1921	88.1	84.5	14.6	65.4	43.2
1922	82.3	75.7	11.1	67.1	37.0
1923	78.4	76.9	9.8	65.5	31.3
1924	78.9	79.0	11.0	70.6	32.3
1925	81.1	79.4	16.7	68.5	33.8

(From Statistical Abstract, 1925.)

It should be noted that crude products and semi-manufactured products for use in manufactures run from 65 per cent. to 81 per cent. free after 1922. Finished manufactured products ready for consumption are below 34 per cent. The figures for 1910 are given to show conditions for the first year under the act of 1909. The duties under that act covered a larger percentage of goods and raised more revenue proportionally. The act of 1922 gives greater protection, but yields relatively less revenue.

The bargaining features of the act of 1922 are of the greatest importance to foreign trade. The flexible provision embodies an authorization for the President to raise or lower duties as much as 50 per cent. in order to maintain the protective wall against changing cost of production. The findings of the tariff commission provide the figures on which action is taken. During 1926 there were twelve increases and three decreases. Countervailing duties are authorized on certain goods coming from a country which imposes a duty or a higher duty on the import of a similar article. The amount of the duty imposed is equal to the duty charged on the American goods in case they are imported free into the United States, or equal to the difference in duty on dutiable goods. Similar countervailing duties are provided to offset bounties and export taxes. Except in case of bounties, these countervailing duties raise serious ques-

tions in international policy. So long as American goods are charged equally with those of other foreign countries countervailing duties are scarcely defensible. Other nations have the same rights as the United States to set up a tariff wall against any particular class of goods. Equal treatment is the most that can be asked, so long as the United States maintains the protective wall. Retaliatory duties or even prohibition of import are authorized against dumping and discrimination against American goods, unfair trade practices, violation of patent rights, trade-marks, etc. Such duties are defensible, even necessary, in order to secure equal and fair treatment in the world's markets. Certain classes of goods may be restricted or even prohibited in the interest of public health, morals, or to prevent fraud, another justifiable precaution. Over exports the United States exercises practically no control, except liquor, narcotics, munitions, and inspection of animals, meats, etc., for protection of public health.

Retaliation against the high American rates has occurred in the new schedule of rates imposed by France 6 September, 1927. The rates are reported to be from four to six times higher than the previous ones. Germany and England receive more favorable treatment and American competition with them in France is difficult or impossible. Articles specially mentioned in the press reports are magnetos, electric machinery, small hardware, pumps, razor blades, prepared and worked leather, and enameled ware. Steel furniture, which has enjoyed a large market in France, is faced with an increase in duty from 1 franc 50 centimes to 8 francs 80 centimes, or about 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. The duty on fountain pens, formerly 5 francs, or 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, was increased to 20 francs, or 80 per cent. The United States immediately protested against the new duties and, 12 September, transmitted a draft of a new commercial treaty to France, urging that the new rates be suspended pending the completion of negotiations. To this request France refused to agree and was reported to have indicated unwillingness to negotiate except upon the basis of complete reciprocity. The United States refused in turn to negotiate, except on the basis of most favored nation treatment. Meanwhile, there was talk of an international trade war and the invoking of the penalties of Article 317 of the American tariff act of 1922 against the French.

RAW MATERIALS POLICY

American policy regarding access to raw materials, when prices are controlled directly or indirectly by governments, has aroused heated discussion, accusations, and counter-accusations. The democratic platform of 1920 demanded equal privileges for Americans to develop oil and minerals, and the Wilson administration inaugurated an active raw materials policy, especially relating to oil in the Near East. The competition for oil reserves growing out of naval competition came near bringing disastrous results. More recently rubber and coffee have been the center of controversy. Restriction on the sale of rubber from the British East Indies was inaugurated in

1921, following a collapse in the rubber market. The price rose to \$1.21 per pound, July, 1925, instead of the 36-cent level which was the original aim as a fair price. It is stated that in 1921 rubber manufacturers in the United States were offered five-year contracts at low prices to stabilize conditions, but they refused, hoping for further declines in price. The restrictions were the last resort, and then speculation began, which forced the excessive prices. As the United States consumes about 75 per cent. of the world's annual rubber supply and is absolutely dependent upon foreign sources, the effect of the rise in price was severe.

The United States did not escape charges of monopolies in essential products of international trade, such as wheat and meat. The tariff against foreign manufactures was pointed out. While the United States was asking for equal privileges in oil development in Persia and Mesopotamia, the British and Dutch pointed out that the Philippine oil reserves were reserved exclusively for American nationals. The Philippine legislature passed a prohibition on the export of abaca seed (hemp plant), in order to maintain a monopoly of that raw material. Hoover warned against trade wars supported by governmental policies, but nevertheless an active campaign against the rubber and coffee monopolies was inaugurated under his leadership and continued through 1924 and 1925. The prices of these commodities fell early in 1926 to more moderate figures. To what extent it was due to American policies is open to question. The main features of the program were: 1) disapproval of loans to support monopolies; 2) reduction of consumption; 3) development of new sources of supply; 4) legalization of a buyers' pool. The restrictions on loans to Brazil were ineffective, because the desired credit was secured in Europe. Reduction of consumption in rubber was about one-fourth and in coffee one-fifth. New sources of production cannot yield new supplies for several years, but new rubber plantations were planned in the Philippines and Liberia. Government loans, however, were refused for the establishment of new sources of production. The British share of the world's rubber production fell between 1922 and 1925 from 72 per cent. to 57 per cent. A buyers' pool was formed in December, 1926, when forty million dollars' credit was provided by tire and motor manufacturers.

COLONIAL POLICY

Colonial policy is closely linked with raw materials because raw materials and markets for manufacturers are the primary reasons for the existence of colonies. Generally speaking, only three of the great imperial powers have stood for the open door in the colonies, that is, equal treatment for nationals and foreigners in their colonial trade. They are Great Britain, the Netherlands and pre-war Germany. This does not mean, however, that these powers did not make some exceptions in favor of their own citizens. The following states customarily give preferential treatment to their nationals: Italy, Portugal, and Spain. The third group, which follows the narrowest nationalistic policy in assimilating their colonies for economic pur-

poses or giving preferential treatment to nationals, are: France, Japan, and the United States. In each of these three, however, there are some colonies in which the door is open. The United States maintains the open door only in Samoa and the Canal Zone. Preferential treatment to nationals is given in the Philippines, Virgin Islands and Guam. The policy of economic assimilation is applied to Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico through the establishment of free trade between the mother country and the colony and through the inclusion of the colony within the coasting system of the United States which excludes foreign ships from trade between these territories and the mainland. The merchant marine act of 1920 authorized the extension of the coasting system to the Philippines under certain conditions, but the presidents have refused to apply the act. The scheme as proposed in the statute to close the door in the Philippines more completely is diametrically opposed to the American policy of the open door in the Far East. Such policies are embarrassingly inconsistent and furthermore, the Philippines belong geographically to the Asiatic economic system, not to the American. Their enforced connection with the United States through legislative action is an artificial and unnatural relation.

TRANSPORTATION

The trade promotion program, embarked upon in the post-war period, entails the active development of an international transportation and communication system under government encouragement. The merchant marine has received the most definite consideration. The shipping board act of 1916 outlined a policy under the stress of war conditions. Its preamble stated the purpose of "encouraging, developing, and creating a naval auxiliary and naval reserve and a merchant marine to meet the requirements of the commerce of the United States with its territories and possessions and with foreign countries...." The merchant marine act of 1920 repeated a similar declaration with the additional statement that the government-owned ships were "ultimately to be owned and operated by citizens of the United States; and it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to do whatever may be necessary to develop and encourage the maintenance of such a merchant marine."

A program of encouragement may include government ownership and operation, government ownership and private operation, mail subsidies or outright subsidies, discrimination in favor of national shipping, construction loans, or revision of navigation laws. Government ownership and operation was in the beginning a temporary policy and after the war the Harding administration followed a plan of leasing government ships to private companies as a transitional policy. The sale of ships was authorized and by 1927 a large part of the ships had passed into private hands. Mail contracts are awarded which amount to a subsidy in disguise. The rates on letters and other articles under the Universal Postal

Union rates are 35 cents and 4½ cents a pound respectively, while the government pays 80 cents and 8 cents per pound. Outright subsidies were advocated for a time by the Harding administration, but legislation failed. Coolidge has opposed money subsidies as contrary to his economy program. The difference between cost of operation and receipts on government ships is paid by the government, a sum of 30 to 50 million dollars annually. This is also a form of indirect subsidy, although intended to be temporary. Loans for the construction of ships were authorized by the merchant marine act of 1920 from a fund of 25 million dollars at 4½ per cent. interest on ships to enter foreign trade and 5½ per cent. on ships to enter the coasting trade. By 1924 some 50 millions in loans were made and in that year the provisions were extended to apply to the reconditioning of government ships with Diesel engines after sale contracts were made.

The most significant contribution of the extreme nationalist group was embodied in the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 providing for a system of tariff discrimination against goods carried in foreign ships. Article 34 directed the President to denounce all treaties with foreign countries granting national treatment of foreign ships with reference to customs duties and tonnage dues. Article 28 provided that goods imported or exported in foreign ships should pay domestic railroad rates, while those shipped on American vessels should receive preferential rates. The Presidents, Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge, have refused to execute article 34, as it would mean the termination of treaties with more than twenty states, and would leave merchants without any rights in foreign commerce with those states. Furthermore, under the discriminative conditions imposed, foreign governments would not negotiate new treaties as favorable as the existing ones. Under article 28 the shipping board advised the interstate commerce commission that adequate national shipping facilities did not exist and the preferential rates were not put in force. In February, 1924, they certified that adequate facilities did exist and preferential rates were ordered. Before the rates went into effect, however, both boards decided that the discriminative policy was unwise and countermanded the preferential orders. In this way the congressional merchant marine policy was defeated, although it still remains on the statute books and may be invoked at any time.

Advocates of discrimination argue that it was this policy which placed the United States in the high position it occupied in the carrying trade in the early part of the nineteenth century and that a revival of the policy would restore the merchant marine. These advocates use only such portions of history as are convenient for their purpose. In the early nineteenth century all nations were still dominated by mercantilist theories of trade regulation and monopoly. The United States, as a new nation, had to establish itself against the system. Discrimination was the method employed against foreign discrimination, but the object in view was equal treatment not special favors. To what extent American discrimination caused the

abandonment of the European system of discrimination is a debated question. Mercantilism was giving way to new theories of economics which emphasized free trade. Probably both elements entered into the European change of policy. When merchant marine agitation was revived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century under the influence of imperialistic ideas and neo-mercantilism, the policy of discrimination was revived. American discrimination under prevailing open door conditions, while ostensibly a mere revival of old policies, was in effect a reversal of those policies. What the United States wanted in the earlier period was equal treatment, what has been asked for in the later period is special favors. Another important effect of the adoption of the discriminative policy would be the revival of customs duties on what are now free goods on importation into the United States in foreign ships. This would be a serious hindrance to trade, as 55 per cent. to 70 per cent. of American foreign commerce is carried in foreign vessels. Although Coolidge disapproved the discriminative aspects of the act of 1920 as a government policy, yet he criticized business men for not discriminating in favor of American ships. In his annual message of December, 1926, he said: "Our merchants are altogether too indifferent about using American ships for the transportation of goods which they send abroad or bring home." An importer testified before a House Committee in 1924 that he refused to accept a shipment and let it "rot" in a warehouse because it had been shipped to the United States in a foreign vessel. Joseph E. Sheedy, of the government fleet corporation, is quoted as exclaiming that he felt like "jumping up and kissing him" for his "loyal American action."

The policy of discrimination in customs and tonnage dues in favor of nationals has been repudiated, at least temporarily, by the new German commercial treaty of 1925. The Senate, however, added a reservation that this section might be terminated after one year or on 90 days' notice thereafter. The new policy is in line with the open door and equal treatment policies of both Wilson (fourteen points and league covenant) and Hughes who negotiated the new treaty. In spite of all that has been done to assist the merchant marine during and since the World War an increasingly larger percentage of American commerce is being carried in foreign ships during the post-war period.

COMMUNICATIONS

Communications are of vital importance both from the standpoint of trade promotion and military policy. During the war the British controlled most of the world's cables. In 1917 the War Trade Intelligence Department made a 28-page report on German interests in the American metal trade. It contained a full analysis of the foreign trade relations of certain American metal companies gleaned from intercepted messages. Similar control by France and Japan over cable messages has been charged. To

what extent this policy is followed since the war is uncertain, but the war demonstrated that these governments have the means of acquiring and using such information. The laying of American owned and controlled cables is held to be as vital to American interests—military, commercial, and news—as a merchant marine. Capital, however, does not seek this form of investment to any great extent because of the precarious nature of these enterprises. The Allied appropriation of cables during the war has set bad precedents and created suspicion which post-war assurances cannot allay. Of the world's cables in 1923 the British own 136,000 miles, and the Americans 73,500 miles out of a total of 318,158 miles. Foreign cables receive government subsidies and the British are building an inter-imperial system with which to bind the empire together more closely. The chief problems to be solved are secrecy of messages, rebates, preferential service, monopoly of materials (*gutta percha*), and monopoly of landing rights. It is difficult to see how these problems can be met except through international action. The radio presents many new difficulties which will have to be handled in a similar manner.

In the coasting trade foreign-owned ships are excluded altogether. Here the extreme nationalists scored again. The trade of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska has for years been included within the coasting system. The merchant marine act of 1920 provided for extending the coasting system to the re-

maining island possessions, Samoa, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and the Philippines. In the case of the Philippines it was conditioned by the existence of adequate shipping facilities, so the execution of this part of the act has been postponed. The nations using the open door in colonial shipping are Great Britain, Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and Germany before the war. Those using preferential policies are France, Canada, Australia, and the British West Indies. The nations limiting colonial trade to national bottoms in strict mercantilist fashion are the United States, Spain, Portugal (in part) and Japan (in part). In this group the colonies in question lie close to the mother country and are geographically in the same economic system, except the United States which extends the system to distant outlying possessions.

Aviation was developed during the war to a point where it became a practical and permanent mode of transportation and communication. Because of its military significance it has been sponsored by governments directly or indirectly. The French have given the largest direct subsidies. The British subsidies began in 1921. The United States has not given direct subsidies. From the standpoint of foreign economic policy the airplane has not figured yet as a major problem because of its novelty, but it has been the subject of consideration in international transportation and communications conferences.

(To be continued in the next issue)

History—Old Style and New

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Less than a generation ago the English historian, E. A. Freeman, boldly asserted that history was "past politics." That this conception of history was generally accepted during the nineteenth century, and that it even yet finds considerable vogue both in England and in America, must be evident to any one who examines the writings of many eminent historians on both sides of the Atlantic. Up to the last decade the vast majority of our history texts, both school and college, were little more than superficial and distorted compilations of political and episodic happenings calculated to inculcate a certain brand of patriotism. Indeed, it was against the writing and teaching of just this sort of history that the distinguished philosopher-historian, James Harvey Robinson, raised his voice not so many years ago. In his epoch-making volume, *The New History*, he decried the fact that the content of historical writings was composed almost entirely of the irrelevant and the melodramatic—of laws, of accounts of presidential administrations, dynasties, military exploits, romantic marriages, court scandals, diplomatic intrigues, assassinations, and reigns of terror—and that little or no space was given to the economic, social, spiritual, scientific, and intellectual aspects of human development. The time had come, he declared, for a

broader understanding and a larger synthesis.

In America Professor Robinson was not alone in his crusade for a more comprehensive and a more synthetic history. In the field of American history J. B. McMaster, F. J. Turner, and others were already stressing the importance of getting away from the narrow political-nationalistic path followed by George Bancroft, Palfrey, Hildreth, and others of the so-called older school of historians. The appearance of J. B. McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* was indicative of the approaching change and the broader outlook. So, also, was the appearance of *The American Nation. A History*, edited by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, a comprehensive work of twenty-eight volumes as originally planned and covering the entire field of American history. In the first volume of this series, published in 1904, the editor in his general introduction significantly pointed out that the work was "intended to select and characterize the personalities who have stood forth as leaders and as seers; not simply the founders of commonwealths or the statesmen of the republic, but also the great divines, the inspiring writers, and the captains of industry. For this is not simply a political or constitutional history: it must include the social life of the people, their

religion, their literature, and their schools. It must include their economic life, occupations, labor systems, and organizations of capital. It must include their wars and their diplomacy, the relations of community, and of the nation with other nations."

Every person familiar with the several volumes of *The American Nation* knows that they contain a wealth of information about the non-political aspects of American development. Some are much richer than others in this respect. But after all is said and done they do not give a synthetic picture. Like the McMaster volumes, the political factors loom large and, with some exceptions, the non-political material is sandwiched in in more or less isolated chapters. Nevertheless, the work as a whole represents a distinct advance in the direction of the newer history.

The twenty-odd years since the appearance of the first volume of *The American Nation* have witnessed four significant tendencies in American historiography: (1) An increasing emphasis on the "New History"; (2) more general acceptance that American history in many respects cannot be isolated from world history; (3) a constant multiplying of monographs dealing with various phases of the social, economic, and cultural development of the people of the United States; and (4) the continued effort to produce a synthetic picture of American life on a fairly large scale. Every writer and teacher of history, with the possible exception of the ultra-conservative, conventional historian, has been affected more or less by these tendencies.

The first four volumes of what bids to be by all odds the best synthetic story of the evolution of American life thus far attempted have just come from the press.¹ Like *The American Nation* this series proposes to present both for the historian and for the general reader the story of our civilization from its far-off beginnings to the present moment; to show how Europeans became Americans, how farmers, fishermen, planters, merchants, and the rest, grew rich or poor, how they organized their common life, how they built their common interests into institutions—churches, schools, and all their multifarious social enterprises which in total make the substance of civilization.

The editors, trained in the best schools of historiography, while fully realizing that social history has lacked synthesis, make no claim that this series is the last word, rather they look upon it as merely another step in the right direction, hoping that it may quicken many minds to more inquiry and to more reflective thinking on America's past. If the four volumes under review are any criteria, it is evident that the series will give due regard to the transit of civilization from the Old World to the New, and that the reader will see in a slow dissolving picture the ceaseless action of new environment upon imported custom and tradition, a study in that tremendous social chemistry where principles have been so little understood. On the other hand, the volumes give evidence that the original factors in American life, sprung from our own soil, undergo social evolution.

Each of the four volumes is literally packed with information; we get "close-ups" of individuals at work or at play which make the story intimately human and not a speculative, theorized interpretation resting on negligible evidence. Judgments and conclusions are not drawn unless evidence warrants. While local history often plays a large rôle, the treatment is not antiquarian, and the quaint, curious, and picturesque matter which is frequently cited has been selected for the light it throws upon American life. Fortunately, factional rivalry, party strife, and statecraft, which after all have never been an important personal concern of many people, have been dwelt upon very lightly, but fundamental matters, like the broadening of the suffrage, the democratizing of political control through conventions and the like, and such expressions of the public conscience as movements for reform, are all given due attention. The four volumes are written in a suggestive, interesting style and the charm and worth of each is enhanced by fresh and striking illustrations from thirty to fifty in number, all selected from authentic source material and telling their story with vivid directness to the modern reader. Usually illustrations are merely labeled with headings, but in the volumes under consideration the editors have been at great pains to give the source as well as very detailed notes regarding each. Throughout the text of each volume are short footnotes sufficient to guide the student without in any way obtruding upon the attention of the more casual reader. The last chapter of each volume is a critical essay on authorities, which in itself is a mine of information. The books are attractively bound and embellished with decorative end papers by Paul Laune, expressing in pictorial fashion the progress of American life.

When we turn to a consideration of each volume we find that Professor Wertenbaker shows how the culture and civilization which the first English settlers brought with them was inevitably changed and modified in the new environment. We see transplanted to America a race still under the shadow of the beliefs and fancies of the Middle Ages. At an age when drunkenness was the rule rather than the exception, when the witchcraft alarms of the northern colonies echoed similar movements which were pervading Europe, when medical prescriptions called for such grotesque ingredients as ground toads and crabs' eyes, it is a remarkable fact that moral and humanitarian standards and conditions of public health in the colonies were better than in Europe.

We see the life of the small tobacco planter and of the northern village farmer, artisan, and fisherman; the almost hopeless effort of the southern parsons to maintain formal worship among a scattered population and of the Puritan clergy to prop up a wavering theocracy; the seventeenth century community wrestling with the problems of right and wrong, and trembling before the powers of the air; the doctors earnestly fumbling with their grotesque prescriptions

and the scholar struggling to bring the word of ancient learning into these outposts of civilization.

With keen insight the author pictures for us this theocracy of Massachusetts with its strong sense of community responsibility for the individual's sins, its citizens finding in "Training Day" and the midweek lecture that social and emotional release which their southern cousins were finding in occasional horse racing and dances. He shows us the inhabitants of the plantations of the South where the life, although differing in certain outward manifestations from that of the more northern colonies, was, nevertheless, in its fundamentals based on the same background and prejudices. We see everywhere throughout the colonies isolated families or groups of families working out for themselves a new form of civilization adapted to their frontier life and with few opportunities for cultural, educational, or even religious contacts.

It was a century of slow, discouraging, yet steady progress. In 1600 from Florida northward the country was inhabited by wild animals and almost equally wild savages. In 1690 there were scattered homes and villages the length of the coast—small settlements carved out of the new continent by Englishmen who had come thither to seek land and wealth and remained to found the beginnings of a new civilization.

In *Provincial Society* Mr. Adams sets forth with a sure touch a succession of vivid pictures of the early eighteenth century in America. He points out the far-reaching social changes taking place in American communities during the period dismissed by many older writers as dull and static.

It is a record of a rising gentry in the older centers. New Englanders made comparatively rich by commerce are building comfortable mansions and concerning themselves once more with intellectual and social pursuits. On the southern plantations the owners, aided by their growing numbers of slaves, are aping the life of the country gentry of England. Civilization is made more secure by libraries, colleges, newspapers, and better communication, but folk art declines as the concern for material comfort, indispensable at first, develops into a preoccupation.

The small farmer stands forth as an independent figure tilling the fields, hunting wolves, making his furniture, while his wife manages the household and spins the wool. Everywhere material well-being is increasing; social distinctions and sectional animosities are becoming more marked; towns are springing up.

Religious interest which has been gradually decreasing flames up in the "Great Awakening." This movement is discussed as the central influence in the life of the times. The artistic and scientific influences of the day are also treated in their relation to the developing conditions of American life.

The frontiersmen, including picturesque groups of newcomers from Germany and the north of Ireland, make the first stride westward. These new national strains modified the strong English characteristics of

the original colonies and show the world the beginnings of the melting-pot at work.

Those interesting years in our history from 1830 to 1850 were a period when optimism was rampant and human perfectability a creed. Professor Fish pictures for us the common man, consumed by a burning faith in his own destiny and in that of the nation as a whole, taking an increasingly important place in the social life of the day. We see the great middle class realizing for the first time its significance and power and sweeping forward toward new cultural, social, intellectual, and economic levels. Beyond the Appalachians, where spreading systems of roads, canals, and railroads brought everywhere easier means of communication and broader outlooks, a new civilization was growing up in which the supremacy of aristocracy was weakened.

In contrast with earlier days in America, it was a motley company that crowded the stage in the thirties and forties: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and P. T. Barnum, Andrew Jackson and Horace Mann, Cyrus H. McCormick and "Father" Miller, Peter Cooper and Henry D. Thoreau, Louis Agassiz and John B. Gough, Horace Greeley and Horatio Greenough, Orestes A. Brownson and Stephen C. Foster, Elihu Burritt and John Tyler, William Lloyd Garrison and Bishop Hughes.

It was, perhaps, above all an age of reform. The earlier labor movement made its start; women began to crusade for equal rights; the temperance case was agitated; and most significant of all the growing anti-slavery sentiment pushed on toward a seemingly inevitable conclusion.

One has only to compare Professor Nevins's volume covering the reconstruction years with that of the late Professor Dunning's *Reconstruction, Political and Economic in The American Nation* series to get some notion of the advance which the American historian has made toward a better synthesis within the last twenty years. Considering the conflicting currents of the post-war years and the rapid social evolution which took place during the period, Professor Nevins has given us an extremely able work.

When the war closed, the North was divided by a seemingly impassable line of hostility from the South; the eastern states were farther removed from the Pacific slope than from Europe. The social conditions in Massachusetts and Alabama, in Pennsylvania and Colorado, were utterly dissimilar. Within these thirteen years important strides were made toward knitting the nation into closer accord politically, economically, and culturally.

In his clearly written and swiftly moving narrative the author shows exactly what each section of the country had to contribute to the new nation, to its economic growth, individual life, and social idealism. He draws for us a vivid picture of the new South where whites and blacks are struggling to build up a new social and economic system on the ruins of the old. We see in the North and West the "Coal-Oil

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Johnnies," the swaggering gamblers in Wall Street, the railway mining kings, picturesque, but evanescent figures, set off by the standard bearers of new university ideals, the creators of a new American literature, and the pioneers of the research laboratory.

The author has been unusually successful in his sketching of those facts of the daily life of the period which gave rise to the new conditions of American life, and to new and perplexing social and ethical problems. It is a remarkably clear and vivid picture of the broadening of American culture, the provincial literature, the lyceum platform, new periodicals, the art museums, the theatrical "star" system. Most of all he shows us the new unity which was to be the keystone of the modern nation and which perhaps more than anything else made the America of 1878 differ from that of 1865.

As might be expected, these four volumes differ somewhat in individual merit. All are remarkably free from error, although slips now and then appear.

Professor Nevins's statement that the Central Pacific did not suffer from any scandal like the *Crédit Mobilier* (p. 55) is, for instance, a bit misleading. The dyed-in-the-wool conventional historian who believes that political history is the beginning and the end of all things may not find keen satisfaction in these admirable volumes, but every person, whether student or general reader, who would understand our civilization will welcome them.

¹*A History of American Life*. Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. Ashley H. Thorndike and Carl Becker, Consulting Editors. Twelve volumes. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927.

Vol. II. *The First Americans, 1607-1690*. By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker. xx, 358 pp.

Vol. III. *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*. By James Truslow Adams. xvii, 374 pp.

Vol. VI. *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850*. By Carl Russell Fish. xix, 351 pp.

Vol. VIII. *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*. By Allan Nevins. xix, 446 pp.

The Teaching of Medieval History in a World Survey Course

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The course in world history in the high schools throughout the United States covers a period of either one year, a year and a half, or two years. This article deals with the teaching of the so-called "medieval" period in a one-year course.

Regardless of the time allotment, or the methods used, the teacher must first of all have a clear conception of what is meant by the "Middle Ages." This conception is fundamental before an intelligent orientation of the subject can be given to the pupil. We no sooner delve into this unsettled question than we are confronted by the fact that the old terminology of "ancient," "medieval," and "modern" is under fire. Writing on this subject in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* for May, 1927, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes says:

"Driven from his previous haven of refuge and his vantage-points in the political framework of history and the nationalistic mode of compartmentalization, the desperate historian of the old school may at least contend that he can dig in and take his bearings within the shelter and moorings provided by the conventional historical chronology of ancient, medieval, and modern history. But the relentless expositor of the 'New History' can give him even less quarter here than with respect to the theory of political causation and the nationalistic orientation. The anthropologists have taught us that, from the purely chronological point of view, the older chronology is utterly inadequate and incredibly distorting. The whole range of written history, comprised within the older categories of ancient, medieval, and modern periods, is unbelievably modern from the standpoint of time perspec-

tive and cultural achievement. Ancient history would in reality be the period of the culture of the colithic and paleolithic ages; medieval history would probably best correspond to the culture of the neolithic; modern history would run from the beginning of the age of metals, at least three thousand years before Christ, to the scientific age and industrial revolutions, since the middle of the eighteenth century; contemporary history would have to be invoked as a term adequate to describe the novel civilization which has arisen in the train of the scientific and industrial transformation of recent times." Surely, no teacher would wish to use a terminology which gives a misleading or uncertain time sequence of history.

Then, again, if we accept the modern doctrine of the unbroken continuity of history we cannot sharply delimit a definite period of time with the old-time phrase, "the middle ages." We would hardly want to convey the idea that on a certain morning in 476 A. D. people awoke to find themselves no longer a part of the ancient world, but the inhabitants of medieval times.

One of the clearest discussions on this entire subject is found in Dr. James Harvey Robinson's book, *The Mind in the Making*. In his chapter on Medieval Civilization we find the following:

"Before considering this new phase through which the human mind was to pass, it is necessary to guard against a common misapprehension in the use of the term 'Middle Ages.' Our historical textbooks usually include in that period the happenings between the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the voyages of Columbus or the opening of the Protestant revolt.

To the student of intellectual history this is unfortunate, for the simple reason that almost all the ideas and even institutions of the Middle Ages, such as the church and monasticism and organized religious intolerance, really originated in the late Roman Empire. Moreover, the intellectual revolution which has ushered in the thought of our day did not get well under way until the seventeenth century. *So one may say that medieval thought began long before the accepted beginning of the Middle Ages and persisted a century or so after they are ordinarily esteemed to have come to an end.* We have to continue to employ the old expression for convenience sake, but from the standpoint of the history of the European mind, three periods should be distinguished, lying between ancient Greek thought as it was flourishing in Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, Rome, and elsewhere at the opening of the Christian era and the birth of modern science some sixteen hundred years later.

"The first of these is the period of the Christian Fathers, culminating in the authoritative writings of Augustine, who died in 430.

"The second, or 'Dark Age,' lasted with only slight improvement from Augustine to Abelard, about seven hundred years....

"From about 1100 conditions began to be more and more favorable to the revival of intellectual ambition, a recovery of forgotten knowledge, and a gradual accumulation of new information and inventions unknown to the Greeks or ideed to any previous civilization."

The writer, in collaboration with Dr. J. Lynn Barnard, after five years of studying and experimenting, has come to interpret medieval history as the period from about the second century A. D. to approximately the seventeenth century; and has divided it into three units or epochs: (1) The Age of Fusion; (2) Feudalism; (3) An Era of Enlightenment.

These epochs are not mere time allotments or divisions, arbitrarily defined decades or centuries, though of course the time element plays its part. Each epoch includes a series of events, which, together, make up a distinct unit of human progress, care always being taken not to distort historic facts or their interpretation.

This will be made clearer by an example of the methods used in my own classroom. We had just finished the second epoch of this period, Feudalism, including the years from about the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. We had seen how, in that age of disorder, practically every phase of life in western Europe had been drawn into the feudal system—the state, the church, the school, and labor. Our story had included the life of the people in town and country. We had laid considerable stress on the Crusades, and had studied the influence of the East on the West.

We noted, further, that, about the thirteenth century, certain influences were at work which were gradually to bring about the downfall of Feudalism. The following century, the "Black Death," wiped out one-half of the population of Europe in a single year. Labor became scarce and many serfs secured their freedom. After the invention of gunpowder, steel

armor was no longer a protection to knights. The Crusades had broadened men intellectually, and they were ready to break from the narrowness and superstition of the age.

In contrast with that period of disorder—the so-called Dark Ages—an Era of Enlightenment followed. A spirit of nationalism, attended by a sense of security and safety, developed in western Europe. The people had more time to think and to study.

So as to eliminate all confusion, and to establish unity of thought and the continuity of history, the orientation for the new epoch included the following: First, that the transition from the one epoch to the other took place very slowly. No one at the time was aware of any change. No heralds appeared upon the borders to announce the ending of an old and the dawn of a new age. In the second place, the Era of Enlightenment covered the years from about the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. And, lastly, this epoch disclosed how nationalism developed in western Europe, and how much of our political, economic, and social life of today can be traced to this period. We learned how Asia again influenced Europe. And in order to understand this influence we had first to study the lives of Gautama of India and Confucius of China, this being followed by the story of Jenghiz Khan, Kublai Khan, Marco Polo, and the Mongol, Tartar, and Hunnish invasions.

With the conditions in Europe and the influence of the East upon the West as a background, we then took up the study of the Renaissance in its narrower sense, as the revival of art, literature, and science. This, in turn, was followed by the Reformation, with its story of Wyclif, Luther, and Loyola. We discovered, further, that simultaneously with the Renaissance and the Reformation a great Commercial Revolution was taking place. Sailors were daring unknown seas and discovering new lands. In other words, our Era of Enlightenment came to include what historians have known as the Renaissance in its broadest sense.

We spent about three weeks on this unit, or epoch, during which time the teacher used the method-whole recitation; projects, including map work, charts, and cartoons; informal lectures; individual and committee reports on supplementary texts, biographies, and historical novels; dramatization; and directed study.¹

After completing the epoch, the pupils were given from three to four days, both in class and out, to fill in what we have termed a recapitulation chart. This chart was prepared as follows: Five or six sheets of loose-leaf notebook paper were pasted together. A copy was then made of the following form, which had been placed on the bulletin board. With the advice and guidance of the teacher, the pupils collected their facts and information from the reference works in the classroom library.

The summary sheet contained five groups in all. Group II (1350-1400), Group III (1450-1500), and Group V (1550-1600) are omitted here from lack of space. All groups and dates can of course be arranged differently, as the teacher may prefer.

RECAPITULATION CHART—AN ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT

	England	France	Spain	Holy Roman Empire	China	America	Norway	Sweden	Denmark	Austria	Swiss Confederation	The Balkans	India	America	The Papacy	
Political Government Important Laws Leaders																Summary of contemporaneous men and events included in the Era of Enlightenment—14th to 17th centuries
Military Wars Annexations																GROUP I Five men and five events between 1280-1325
Scientific Inventions Discoveries Explorations																Robert Bruce Edward I—Model Parliament Kublai-Khan Marco Polo Dante Petrarch William Wallace Mongol-Invasion
Art Architecture Sculpture- Painting Music																GROUP IV Ten men and ten events between 1500-1550
Economic Methods of securing a living																Michaelangelo Martin Luther Columbus Pizarro Verrazano Copernicus Da Gama Diet of Speyer Edict of Worms Erasmus Loyola Philip II Leo X
Social Education Sports Amusement Religion Customs																
Literature Authors Their works																
Other Facts and Information																
References—Authority																

After the recapitulation charts and summary sheets were complete, the pupils at a glance could get a cross-section view of the contemporaneousness of persons and events. Here in Group I (1280-1325) it was found that Robert Bruce, Marco Polo, Kublai Khan, Dante, and Petrarch were all contemporaries. In Group IV (1500-1550) the summary sheet showed that Columbus, Michaelangelo, Copernicus, Loyola, Luther, Cortez, and others lived and worked about the same time. The chart brought out many interesting things. For example, in this particular project students often manifested surprise when they found out that only two years after Luther had posted his ninety-five theses, Cortez was on his way to the conquest of Mexico.

From time to time the pupils prepared a program based on one of the several recapitulation charts. Dialogues representing four or five persons from the different groups were given. Other numbers on the program conveyed further information on some important event that had been discussed in the epoch. Some-

times a committee was appointed to write and give a one-act play based on its recapitulation chart.

We feel that this epoch plan, combined with a well-organized orientation and recapitulation chart, has several decided values. It shows the continuity of history, as well as the contemporaneousness of events; it helps to make clear causal relationships in history; and it develops in the pupils a much-needed sense of worldmindedness.

We are well aware that both the content and the presentation of the new World History are still unsettled. This article lays no claim to being a best or a final solution of the problem. It is hoped, however, that the brief description of what seemed to be an interesting experiment may be of some value to fellow-teachers.

¹The following references make clear the above-mentioned methods:

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, March, 1925. Laboratory Work in Civics. Professor Howard C. Hill. Pages 110-

111. A brief description of the unit plan and the laboratory work in history.

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, February, 1926. History and the Other Social Studies in the Junior and Senior High Schools. Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton. Pages 84-94. A very clear explanation of map problems and student-written poems and stories picturing "the life and outstanding characteristics of the Middle Ages."

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, October, 1926. Biography: The Case Method in History. Professor R. F. Nichols.

Dawson, E. Methods of Teaching the Social Studies.

Macmillan. Chapter XIII. Lecturing; Explanation; Directed and Supervised Study; Project Method and Problem Method; the Chicago Unit Plan.

Klapper. The Teaching of History. Appleton. Pages 191-194. Method—whole recitation. Pages 52-53; 233. Historic Fiction.

Knowlton, D. C. History and the Other Social Studies in the Junior High School. Scribner's. Chapter IV. Setting the Problem in History: Lesson Planning and Problem Solving. Chapter V. The Use of the Concrete: Time Charts, Maps, Cartoons, Graphs, Dramatization.

Dates and Historical Perspective

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I. DATES

This is not an effort to solve the problem of what dates shall be taught in American History. Neither is it an attempt to answer the question as to when and where they shall be taught. Still less is this article concerned with the question of why dates should be taught. Instead, it sets forth one phase of a larger investigation into the achievement of children in the elementary schools in the field of the social studies.¹ It deals with the handling of those sections of the tests used which involved a knowledge of certain dates in American History.

Wooter's list² of the thirty most important dates in American History formed the backbone of the master-list from which the material incorporated in this section of the test was selected. To these dates were added others from those included in certain courses of study and investigations³ which have rather wide use and influence, and some from lists contained in five textbooks in elementary American History which have enjoyed an extensive sale, hence might be regarded as having had some influence on elementary school practice.

The dates used were selected with two things in mind: To arrange a list which would afford some indication of the present tendencies in the teaching of dates in the elementary school; to discover to what extent, if any, the emphasis upon dates had shifted from martial and political to social and industrial events. The limitations imposed by the general plan of the investigation made it necessary to resort to a sampling of the master-list of dates which had been compiled.

In all thirty dates were included in the Inventory Tests which were used in the investigation. These were divided equally between two forms of the tests as finally given. Two methods of matching were employed in handling the dates. In the first, dealing with date-event associations, the seven dates to be used were to be found in a list of twelve from which the appropriate responses were to be selected. The plan is shown in Section I, from Test IA, which follows:

Below are some important events in American history. On the right are some dates important in American history. In the blank before each event write the date that belongs with it. The first has been done to show you how. There are more dates than you will need.

1492	Columbus discovered America.		
—	Slavery introduced into America.		
—	Declaration of Independence.	1492	1865
—	Government under the Constitution begun.	1917	1820
—	Missouri Compromise adopted.	1619	1867
—	Dred Scott decision.	1497	1775
—	Reconstruction begun.	1620	1789
—	America entered World War.	1776	1857

The second method made use of a combined person-date event association. In this case no fillers were included—a concession to the greater difficulty of the device employed. This is shown in Section III, from Test IA, which follows:

Below are listed some important events in American history. On the right is a list of dates and a list of names connected with those events. In the column of blanks under 'Dates' put the number of the date which belongs with each event. The first one has been done to show you how to do it.

C 1	Discovered America.	A	Burgoyne	1	1492
—	Discovered the Mississippi River.	B	Alexander Bell	2	1793
—	Established Plymouth that they might worship God as they wished.	C	Columbus	3	1786
—	British general defeated by Americans at Saratoga.	D	Thomas Jefferson	4	1846
—	Invented Cotton Gin.	E	John Cabot	5	1497
—	Invented the sewing machine.	F	De Soto	6	1541
—	Purchased the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon.	G	Elias Howe	7	1620
—	Invented the telephone.	H	Pilgrims	8	1803
—	His explorations gave England a claim to North America.	I	Eli Whitney	9	1777

There were 1,104 children examined on Test IA. These were distributed among some 40 classes, scattered over the country from Massachusetts to California, and from Montana to Texas and Alabama. Test IB was given to 808 children in 30 classes which had a similar geographic range. The tests were given in October to children who had completed the sixth grade of the elementary school in June.⁴

An inspection of Table I, which gives the results for the date-event sections of Test IA, justifies the statement that the teaching of dates is not receiving

great emphasis in the elementary school today. Of the first six dates in the rankings of seventy-three historians which Wooters compiled, four appear in this table. The first is that of the Declaration of Independence. Of the 1104 children scored on this test, just 971 attempted to give the year marking the birth of this republic. Yet the pupils had this date before them, one of a group of twelve from which they were to make their selections. Only 677 children gave the correct date. For 133 children there had not been sufficient contact with the date of such a character as to make it possible for them to select it from the list before them. Of those who thought they knew, 296 were mistaken. This does not indicate great insistence upon the learning of this date. The fourth in Wooters' list is that of the beginning of government under the constitution. Less children—623—attempted this date than gave correctly that of the Declaration of Independence, and only 184 had it right. The fifth date, that of the founding of Plymouth, 812 children attempted, 513 successfully. For the sixth, 442 attempted to give the date of the Louisiana purchase, while only 122 did it correctly. On these dates, at any rate, one feels that there has not been a great deal of emphasis. What of the others?

TABLE I

Date-Event Association, Test IA		1104 cases		
Event:	Date	Rank*	At-tempts	Right
Section I—				
Slavery introduced into America.	1619		761	240
Declaration of Independence . . .	1776	1	971	677
Government under Constitution begins	1789	4	623	184
Missouri Compromise adopted . .	1820	10	501	94
Dred Scott Decision	1857	23	371	60
Reconstruction begun	1867	29	409	74
America entered World War . . .	1917		927	720
Section III—				
Discovered the Mississippi River	1541		710	396
Established Plymouth	1620	5	812	513
Defeat at Saratoga	1777		522	232
Invented Cotton Gin	1793		665	170
Invented sewing machine	1846		509	122
Louisiana Purchase	1803	6	442	122
Invented the telephone	1876		579	236
Explorations giving England claim in North America	1497		542	264

First of all, one is struck by the fact that more succeeded in giving the year of America's entry into the World War than any other, although it ranks second in number of attempts. In school, or out of it, these children have had sufficient experience to enable them to know the World War as a relatively contemporaneous event and so select 1917 as the appropriate response. Of the 207 who failed, many were as content with 1497 as others were with 1789. For these, the experience had not been of such a nature as to give the correct historical perspective.

Four dates are connected with our early history. The earliest of these concerns Cabot's explorations in North America, which 542 children attempted, 264 successfully, while the next is that of De Soto's dis-

covery of the Mississippi, which 710 tried and 396 gave. The other two are those for Plymouth, given above, and for the introduction of slavery in 1619, which 240 gave correctly out of 761 attempts. Roughly, two-thirds of the 1108 children attempted these dates, and less than half of those who did got them right. They fared best with the founding of Plymouth. More thought they knew when slavery was introduced, but fewer succeeded with it than with De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi, or with Cabot's explorations in North America. The results are not indicative of great emphasis upon these dates.

The results with the remaining dates are in keeping with those above. Of the three inventions given—the cotton gin, the sewing machine, and the telephone—roughly half of the children were certain enough to attempt to give the dates, though less than a third of these were able to do so. Fewer attempted, though more successfully, the date of Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga. In even greater measure this is true of the Louisiana Purchase. Less than two-fifths of the pupils attempted the purely political events included—the Missouri Compromise, the Dred Scott Decision, and the beginning of the Reconstruction—and less than a third of these were successful.

An examination of Table II, showing the results for the 808 children who were given Test IB, is instructive. All but nine of the children attempted to give the year of the discovery of America by Columbus; only thirteen got it wrong. This is the date which the children examined on these tests seem to know best, though it is ranked second to that of the Declaration of Independence in Wooters' list. Next to this comes the year of the World War Armistice, although but 605 attempted it, and only 498 were successful. To what extent the annual Celebrations of Columbus Day and Armistice Day are responsible for this showing it is difficult to estimate, though it would seem evident that they must have played a part. The only event in this list from the period of exploration and discovery—that of Magellan's circumnavigation of the world—given a rank of 28.5 by the historians on Wooters' list, fares better than those from the middle of that distribution. There were 588 children who attempted this date, 357 successfully. Four of the remaining dates were connected with wars. The children did best with Lexington and Concord, 231 out of 532 being successful, while 163, of the 507 who tried, gave the year of the close of the Civil War. They displayed slightly greater certainty with Wolfe's capture of Quebec than with Washington's defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown, which only 57 out of 355 children gave successfully. Less than half attempted the three inventions—Fulton's steamboat, the telegraph and the reaping machine—and the laying of the Atlantic Cable, and only a sixth of these could give the years in question. Of the two remaining dates from the Revolution, 452 attempted to give the year of England's acknowledgment of our independence, while 300 tried to supply the year of the alliance with France made by Franklin. Of these, however, 82 succeeded in giving the

* Rank in Wooters' arrangement of Bourne's list of thirty most important dates in American History, based on rankings by 73 eminent historians.

latter, only 66 giving the former. The two political measures—the Great Compromise, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill—ranking 15 and 16 on Wooters' list of thirty, were attempted by the smallest number of children, and attended with least success.

TABLE II

Date-Event Association, Test IB

Event:	Date	Rank	At-tempts	Right
Section I—				
Columbus Discovered America..	1492	2	799	786
Battle of Lexington and Concord	1775	17	532	231
Independence acknowledged by England	1783	13	452	66
Great Compromise (Omnibus Bill)	1850	15	261	41
Kansas-Nebraska Bill	1854	16	240	48
End of Civil War	1865	14	505	163
World War Armistice declared..	1918		605	498
Section II—				
First sailed round the world....	1519	28.5	588	357
Defeated French at Quebec	1763		364	88
Perfect first commercially suc- cessful steamboat	1807		402	88
Invented the telegraph	1844		402	63
Made treaty of alliance with France during the Revolution.	1778	28.5	300	82
First successful reaping machine	1831		309	52
Completed laying of first suc- cessful Atlantic Cable	1866		279	64
British defeat at Yorktown	1871	18	355	57

What is the significance of these results? What interpretations are we justified in attaching to them? The first is that there is no date which all the children tested made an effort to give. Neither of the two dates in American history which historians have considered most important were attempted by all of the children, although the second, the discovery of America by Columbus, fared much better than the Declaration of Independence. In this the celebration of Columbus Day in our schools—while Independence Day is observed as a public holiday after schools have closed—undoubtedly plays a part in the better fixing of the former date. The second is that there is a large twilight zone of error for all but a few dates, between the children who feel that they do not know enough even to attempt the year of the event and those who are able to give it correctly. Even with the dates before them this uncertainty was not removed. The conclusion that relatively little attention is being paid today to precise dates, even to the fixing of outstanding or strategic points of reference, would seem to follow, so far as the work of the first six grades in the public schools where these tests were given is concerned.

Aside from the dates of our entry into the World War, the Armistice, and of the Declaration of Independence, the six dates from the periods of exploration and colonization seem to have fared best, while those having to do with wars and battles rank next. Only the dates associated with great political events, like the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, rank lower than those of the great inventions. There has been no significant shift in emphasis upon dates, then, so far as the children measured by these tests are concerned. It is possible, of course, that the showing made on the earlier periods of our

history may be due in part to the novelty of history at the time when they are studying those portions of it, and in part to the interest at which children normally display in those adventurous times.⁵

II. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It was with the feeling that the ability of the children tested to handle the precise dates called for in the sections just studied would not tell the whole tale that four multiple choice questions, involving historical setting or perspective, were included. The results of these are shown in Table III. An inspection of this table shows results exceeded only by those for the date of the discovery of America by Columbus. The correct response in each case was one of a series of statements, each representative of different periods of our history. Thus the question, "Columbus crossed the Atlantic in—" could be completed by marking any of the following, "An ocean liner," "A steamboat," "Small sailing vessels," "Large launches." The wording of the correct response in this case was a bit unfortunate since it so nearly duplicates the statement as usually made. However, it is significant that there were 13 children who did not attempt to respond at all, while 62 of those who did had Columbus employing either an ocean liner or a steamboat for his purposes. Launches they rejected in toto. There were 195 children who made no attempt to indicate the means by which New York received word of the Declaration of Independence, while of the 909 who did, 140 were torn between the telephone and radio. Of the mode of transit employed by the early western settlers only two were too uncertain to answer, while but two of those who did were wrong. They preferred the use of the railroads. On the last item in this group—the method by which the early pioneers got their clothing—there was almost equal certainty, for only 47 did not attempt it. Of the 63 who missed it—and did they miss it completely?—the majority favored the method of barter. Few indeed marked either "village stores" or "department stores."

TABLE III

Historical Setting or Perspective

Test IA	1104 cases	Attempts	Right
Columbus crossed the Atlantic in an ocean liner a steamboat small sailing vessels large launches	973		911
New York received word of the Declaration of Independence by wireless mounted courier telephone radio	909		769
Test IB	808 cases		
The early western settlers travelled by automobile on the railroads in wagons and on horseback	768		766
The early pioneers got their clothing in department stores by making them in village stores by barter	761		698

From these illustrations, as well as the reactions to specific items in other parts of the investigation, it is evident that the children examined had a sense of historical perspective not entirely measured by their reaction to exact dates. These results are in keeping with the conclusions of Marion G. Clark⁶ who tested children in the fourth and fifth grades using

pictures to be arranged in chronological sequence, as for example, pictures of five modes of land travel. Her conclusion was that there is some sense of historical placement in the fourth grade, more in the fifth. The conclusion here is that historical perspective, as measured by a knowledge of habits, customs, and procedures, is present in a larger degree than is a knowledge of specific dates in children who have completed the first six grades of the elementary school.⁷

⁷ Showalter, Benjamin R., *Achievement in the Social Studies in the Elementary Schools*. Doctor's Dissertation worked out in connection with the Social Science Investigation of the Lincoln School of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York.

⁸ Wooters, James E., *Elementary American History Standards*, School and Home Education, Vol. 34, p. 154, *et seq.*

⁹ Notably, Tall, Lida Lee, and Davidson, Isobel, *Course of Study*. Baltimore County Public Schools, 1921 Revision, Warwick and York, Inc.; *Plans for Progress*, Connecticut State Board of Education, 1920; *Report of Committee on Elementary Course of Study*, Bulletin No. 51, Minnesota State Department of Education, 1914.

¹⁰ This time was selected advisedly. It was felt that if

the tests were given in June the results would be indicative rather of the effect of the cramming for the examinations usually given at the end of the year than of the net acquisition of the children. Since one object of the investigation was the determination of the equipment in the field covered which children carry with them to the junior high school, it was thought wise to give them the tests in the fall. October was chosen as the time in order that all the schools giving the tests might have been in session for at least several weeks, thus allowing a brief warming up period before the tests were given.

¹¹ The writer has been surprised to learn that his daughter and her friends have found the details of our first four wars more interesting than those portions of our history which intervened.

¹² Clark, Marion G., *Study in Testing Historical Sense in Fourth and Fifth Grade Pupils*, *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, xiv, 147-149; 1923.

¹³ It may be worth while to record that teachers who have examined the results of this section have reacted characteristically in two directions: They have shown surprise that the children did so well; or they have voiced their sorrow over the poor showing. The members of the former group when questioned expressed themselves very definitely as being opposed to the teaching of dates, often even of landmark or reference point dates, in the grades below the seventh. Members of the latter group, on the contrary, believed that many, if not all, of the dates included in the two forms of this test should be taught below the seventh.

Practical Teaching Methods

Drawn from the Experience of Successful Teachers

Three New Educational Features in The Vocational Department at Deerfield Shields High School, Highland Park, Ill.

BY REGINA BECKMIRE

The Social Science courses in the Vocational Department of Deerfield Shields High School at Highland Park, Illinois, make use of three rather new educational features: individual instruction and progress, unit instruction or lesson sheets, and a combination of Civics and English. These courses have a twofold purpose, preparation for citizenship, and training in oral and written English. Each section or group of pupils taking the work spends two periods a day in the classroom, the extra period taking the place of outside preparation and home work.

The subject-matter in Civics centers around the following topics: group life found in the family, the school, the church, and the community; the local government and its problems such as health, protection, civic beauty and city planning, recreation, and crime; the county and state governments with their problems; and the national government with its problems such as communication and transportation, national finances, money and credit, business relationships of employers and employees, immigration, rural welfare, and the conservation of natural resources. The work on local and community problems also includes a review of the matter of etiquette and social

practices, while along with the study of our national congress comes a series of lessons on Parliamentary Law. Wherever it is possible to do so, illustrative material in the form of pictures, posters, photographs, slides, and films is used to make the subject more real and vivid. In the classroom is a large bulletin board to which the pupils and the teacher make contributions of clippings, pictures, and cartoons. The English subject-matter includes drill exercises in punctuation, sentence structure, and common grammatical errors. Spelling words are taken from "Sixteen Spelling Scales Standardized in Sentences for Secondary Schools" published by the Teachers' College at Columbia University. Composition includes letter writing, library lessons, and occasional themes. While only a meager amount of outside reading is required, students are encouraged to do more than the minimum amount from the bibliographies found at the ends of the chapters in Hill's "Community Life and Civic Problems" and from other classified lists for high schools. The reports on this reading are sometimes oral and sometimes written, but the latter are brief enough so that the anticipation of the report will not destroy the desire for and the pleasure derived from good literature. In addition to the above, current events furnish a splendid opportunity for oral themes and oral expression.

The lessons on the use of the library are given to the Freshmen as soon as possible after their entrance into high school in order to help them in finding their necessary materials. This series of seven units treats of the classification and arrangement of books, the

card catalogue, the parts of a book, dictionaries, encyclopedias and other commonly used reference books, and the Readers' Guide to Periodic Literature with a study of the parts of a newspaper and magazine, and some of the best known and the most valuable of these. This part of the course includes practical problems on the various books and materials studied that are worked out in the library.

The students are given a chance to carry out additional projects beyond the work outlined in the regular course (the amount of credit given depending upon the quality and extent of the extra work), such as scrap books on civic problems like health, civic beauty, and current events; original cartoons, poems, and posters relating to the subject-matter; local investigations into such matters as the history of the community or the school; reports on visits to interesting places; and outside reading in addition to the amount required. Several of the more ambitious pupils in the Department have seized eagerly these opportunities to raise the standard of their work.

The members of the Vocational Civic English classes are given mimeographed lesson or job sheets for each unit of work. These individual instruction sheets contain the pupil's aim, an introductory statement which reviews old material necessary for the understanding of the unit and prepares the student for the lesson which is to follow, the procedure, and the English drill exercises. Under the procedure come required and suggested references, the questions to be answered, and the topics for class discussion. The answers to these questions, written in good clear English and handed to the teacher, take the place of the ordinary recitation which is a part of so many classes.

The pupils are given new lesson sheets as fast as they can handle them, which arrangement enables the brighter ones to progress as rapidly as they are able. On the other hand each lesson must be mastered before a new one is attempted, and thus the slower and duller students are not pushed beyond their ability. The above scheme utilizes both individual instruction and unit instruction sheets. At intervals in the course—after the completion of related units on different topics—objective or diagnostic tests are given, and the mistakes disclosed in these are reviewed and corrected. These brief tests are so accurate and such a labor saving device for the teacher that they have been found the most satisfactory type of examination.

There is some group activity in the form of general discussions and debates on the main problems, in which it is possible for all of the students to take part even though they have not completed the same number of lesson sheets. Then, too, there are dramatizations of such scenes as meetings of a city council, the naturalization of immigrants, and the procedure of the courts. Current events supply additional material for group work and oral expression.

Once a week the classes deviate from the use of the unit instruction sheets and spend the day studying current topics. Various methods such as the report

scheme in which each pupil chooses a subject, follows it from week to week, and reports the results to the class, assigned reports on important topics, and the committee system have been used. In the last, which has proved most satisfactory, a chairman elected by the class presides over the meetings, and the other members are divided into committees under such general headings as National Affairs, International News, State and Local Events, Science and Invention, and Miscellaneous, with a chairman for each committee responsible for the planning of the work and report of his group. In order to cultivate broad and varied reading interests, and to give every one a chance to become familiar with the various topics, the personnel of the committees is changed rather frequently.

Below is given a sample lesson sheet taken from the series on "Political Parties."

59 VCE,
Deerfield Shields High School,
Name of Pupil
Date

Unit Instruction Sheet.....Civic English
Lesson 59.....Political Parties

Pupil's Aim: To become familiar with the work and importance of political parties; and to learn to arrange the words in sentences in their proper order.

Introduction:

What is a political party?
Why have political parties arisen in the United States?
What are the important political parties in our country today? What are the main principles of each?
The political parties which have grown up beside our Constitution in the United States perform more tasks and work than we realize. Although they are not mentioned in this document, these parties are very important and powerful.

Procedure:

Required Readings.
Hill. Community Life and Civic Problems, pp. 514-526.
Hughes. Community Civics, pp. 139-149.
Suggested Readings.
De Koven. A Primer of Citizenship, pp. 138-149.
Merriam. American Party System, pp. 248-262, 269-271.

Questions to be answered:

1. What different methods are used for nominating candidates for various offices? What methods are used by the nation and by your state?
2. What else is done by the national conventions besides attending to the matter of nominations?
3. Who conducts the campaigns, and what methods are used?
4. What different steps have been taken to prevent the dishonest use of money in campaigns?
5. What time of year are the national, state, county, and local elections held?
6. Describe the different methods of voting. What are the most important features or characteristics of the Australian ballot?
7. Which seems better to you, the Massachusetts or the party ballot? Why?
8. What is meant by the following terms: stuffing the ballot box, padding the voting lists, and repeating?
9. Explain the short ballot. What are its advantages?
10. What is the difference between the permanent and temporary party machinery?
11. Explain the following statement: "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

Questions for class discussion:

Would conditions be improved if campaign expenses were paid out of the state or national treasury?
Should the politician who gives a bribe, the one who takes the bribe, or both be punished?

Give your views in regard to the following matter:
 "Platforms are made to get in on, but not to stand on."

Information

Sometimes we do not think straight and our thoughts ramble. In a general way, words and phrases should be as near as possible to the words they modify. A carelessly placed modifier may change the meaning of the sentence, or it may add a bit of fun that is not intended.

Correct and improve the following sentences by rearranging them:

1. The dog seemed almost human.
2. When asked for his opinion, he said that he did not think so.
3. The hero of the book's name is Theodore.
4. The sun drove all of the clouds that the wind had gathered.
5. He was kept after school for throwing snowballs almost an hour.
6. By touching the people who drank with her wand she changed them into beasts.
7. This was taken from the dress which Marie Antoinette wore at her execution by an eye-witness.
8. These lines were written nearly fifty years ago by one who has for several years lain in his grave for his own amusement.
9. I shouted for John while returning through the woods a hundred times.
10. He answers all of the questions that were asked him promptly.

The introduction in the sample lesson sheet given above contains review questions recalling material directly related to this lesson, as well as a preliminary statement in regard to the new work discussed in this unit. The student must do the required reading to answer the "Questions to be answered," while the additional references supply the ambitious child with material that makes his treatment of the subject richer and more complete. These answers are written and handed to the instructor for correction, while the questions for general discussion are to be brought up before the entire class after about half of the pupils have reached or gone beyond this unit. The sentences given at the end of the lesson are corrected and handed to the teacher with the other written work.

These features, individual instruction, unit instruction or lesson sheets, and the union of Civics and English constitute an experiment that has not been fully developed, for the Vocational Department at Highland Park was organized only last September. Throughout the four years of the trade courses the study of Social Science forms half of the academic work, the remainder of the day's program consisting of two periods of Science and Mathematics and four periods of Carpentry or Auto Mechanics. As has been brought out in this discussion, the work of the Freshman year is largely English and Civics; during the Sophomore year English is continued in correlation with Modern History. English is studied through the last two years, combined with American History in the third, and with Economics in the fourth. One ideal—the development of good citizenship—dominates the entire Social Science course of the Vocational Department. Although the greatest stress is laid on the development of civic ideals during the first year, constant attention is given to the promotion of social efficiency and responsibility through the remaining three years.

Projects in History

BY PETER A. WERNER, HIGH SCHOOL,
 WEST ALLIS, WISCONSIN

One of the chief purposes of a project in any subject, regardless of how brief or lengthy it may be, is to gain an increased knowledge in the subject. For the past three semesters I have had pupils in my Ancient and Medieval history classes make projects. Among the projects were: Architecture in Ancient and Medieval Times, Comparison of the Religions in Ancient History, Ideals as Revealed in the Lives of Ancient and Medieval Characters, Education in Greece and Rome, Scientists of Early History, Monasticism, Commerce of the Middle Ages and Today, Joan of Arc, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Art and Artists of Medieval Times. Some of the pupils also made life-sized drawings of medieval scenes and large wall maps.

The pupils selected projects that appealed to them, and they were given three weeks in the first part of the semester to finish the projects. I do not believe in giving the pupils a whole semester to work out these projects, for quite a few will let the project go until the end of the semester when they are very busy winding up notebooks, book-reports, etc., for other classes and will then turn in a project which they have worked up in a hurry while they were swamped with other work. All of the projects were done outside of class. The finished projects were in the forms of notebooks, themes, posters, mounted pictures, life-sized drawings and wall maps. The projects when finished were all explained in the classroom and the pupils studied each other's projects.

The pupils received much value from the projects, for they displayed an interest in them and chose projects of which they wanted to know more about than was given in the textbook. With the projects they secured something more than names and dates. By having each pupil take a different project a great many big divisions of Ancient and Medieval history that were presented in the textbook were enriched to a great extent. Many of the characters worked up in the projects had ideals, habits, and characteristics which the pupils believed one might well adopt. This was especially brought out in the projects of Joan of Arc, Saint Francis of Assisi, etc. The pupils learned more details about the manners, customs, and religious beliefs of the early peoples. Some of the projects, especially those that were connected with the church and monasticism, were used by some of the pupils in Sunday-school discussions. Once a year at our school we have Open House when all school work is put on exhibition and at this time our projects can be displayed. Pupils are always very glad to have their work exhibited. Occasionally we display some of the projects in our history room.

The choicest of English words were used to write-up the projects and many projects had artistically designed covers. Many pictures of the National Geographic Magazine were put to good use in the projects. Comparisons of early and modern institu-

tions, as the Manor in the Feudal Age and the home of today and roads and commerce of ancient and modern times, afforded interesting projects. Many pupils wrote their projects on the typewriter, thus putting their commercial training to good use. Every boy and girl must learn to carry responsibilities, and with the working out of a project the pupil does just this thing. Each pupil had to plan, organize, and have his project ready at a certain date. The history teacher can readily see that the objectives of history teaching are brought forth in these projects.

The Socialized Recitation

BY RANSOM A. MACKIE, M.A., STATE NORMAL COLLEGE, DILLON, MONTANA.

The Socialized Recitation is "an example of true democracy, development of all, through all, under the leadership of the best students and the teacher."

1. THE WORK OF THE LEADER.

The lesson is divided into two or three parts and a leader and a critic are assigned for each part. The duty of each leader is to prepare questions and answers and find further information in reference books. Although the *main work* of the leader is to quiz the class, he must also supplement his part of the lesson with ideas gained from collateral reading. So he is told to take notes on what he reads in order that he may present his material effectively.

In the recitation, the leaders who have made special preparation are requested to question their classmates. Volunteers are not called upon until two other pupils have attempted to answer the question.

The leader is supposed to have made a study of each topic in the lesson, but it is only after the students have discussed each question to the best of their ability that the leader offers his additional information.

2. THE WORK OF THE CRITIC.

The duty of each critic is to outline his part of the text and take notes on collateral reading pertaining to every sub-division of his outline, so that he will give the class ideas not found in the textbook.

He also prepares a few questions on his part of the lesson, so that he may quiz the class either while the leader is questioning or afterwards, if he thinks that all the essentials have not been emphasized.

The *main work* of the critic is to criticize answers, favorably and unfavorably, and to supplement the discussion with outside reading material. The critic, if called upon to do so, should be able to summarize his part of the lesson.

3. THE WORK OF THE CHAIRMAN.

On the first day of the quarter each student writes his name on a small card. These cards are used by the chairman in calling on the students during the recitation.

At the beginning of the recitation period the chairman asks the first leader to come forward to quiz the class just as a teacher would. The chairman, using the cards, calls on the student whose name is on the top card to recite. If the student called upon

recites satisfactorily, his card is placed at the bottom of the pack; if he is unable to recite, his card is placed near the top. In this way those who fail are kept before the mind of the chairman. They will thus be given a chance soon to answer another question.

The cards are used again. The next name is called. Every time two names have been called volunteers may recite. After the question has been fully discussed, if it is very important, the chairman asks the critic or the secretary to summarize the essentials of the discussion.

Then the leader asks another question. Again the chairman calls on two students from the cards. If the two students do not satisfy the leader and the other students, volunteers are called upon to correct any errors or to give additional information. If the question is very important, again the chairman requests the critic or the secretary to summarize the essentials of the discussion.

4. THE WORK OF THE CLASS.

The members of the class answer the questions of the leaders and critics. Besides, they are allowed to ask any questions that have not been well discussed, or they may raise new questions. Then volunteers present new material based on collateral reading. Often reports are made on the main topics or questions. After each talk the speaker quizzes his classmates on his report, then a brief discussion follows, in which the speaker is cross-questioned by the class and made to defend his position. After this the leader offers any additional information he may have found.

The class is an open forum, where results of study are pooled for the good of all, and the motto of the class is "each for all and all for each," the class-work thus being a co-operative enterprise. The students feel responsible for the conduct of the recitation and as a result initiative and self-reliance are developed.

Conversations and discussions are transferred to the class circle. Discussions, questions, criticisms are between pupils, with the teacher only occasionally drawn in. There is quite a contrast between this plan and the old, when the recitation was always between the teacher and some pupil.

Most of the corrections are noticed and discussed by the pupils. In this phase of the work the students are advised to make constructive, rather than destructive, criticisms.

5. THE WORK OF THE TEACHER.

The teacher is a guide and does not do the reciting for the class. He encourages both freedom and desire to offer additional facts or to make inquiry concerning points discussed.

In case all the important points are not clearly presented, the teacher asks his questions in order to emphasize those essentials.

If the students allow mis-statements of facts to go unchallenged, or if they permit unsupported expression of personal opinion to escape, the teacher's work is evident: He corrects errors, criticizes, and supplements the work of the students. However, he takes part only when necessary.

Generally the teacher merely directs the work, counsels with the pupils, advises and leads, without dominating and suppressing the physical and mental life within the room.

The teacher stimulates and encourages the students, and acts as a final court of appeal. When in doubt on any question the matter is referred to the teacher, who comes to the aid of the students, discusses the point in question, then resumes his place and leaves the students to finish the lesson. He does not dictate, but guides. The teacher must have a comprehensive knowledge of the subject and be able to cite references.

At the close of the class period the teacher criticizes, favorably and unfavorably, the class discussion, and then works with the students in assigning the next lesson. If no real problem can be found, the teacher will dictate six or seven questions, together with a few good references that will be helpful in preparing the students for the next day's assignment.

6. THE WORK OF THE SECRETARY.

In nearly every class there are at least a few students having initiative who show good judgment and ability in analyzing subject-matter and who express thought in a clear and convincing manner. One of such qualifications is appointed secretary. After each discussion on an important topic, the secretary is requested to present the essentials and to state the main conclusions, or to announce the desirability of further investigation.

Often, when some important question arises which cannot be settled by the students at the time, the class is given a few days—sometimes longer—for study and research. Last year, for example, in discussing the government of England, one boy said that he had heard that the English government is more democratic than our own. The members of the class immediately took sides in a discussion which followed. As they were unable to convince each other, they decided to have a debate on the question. Nearly every member of the class spent a half hour or so about every day for a week studying in order to get "evidence" to prove or disprove that the English government is more democratic than the American government. And if the study of government is important, who will say that the time was not profitably spent in investigating the working of two of the most democratic governments in the world?

The Story Telling Recitation

BY P. K. PLATTS, JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL,
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Mr. Wyche tells us, sanely enough, that the way to remember a story is to tell it. The next lesson in History "Nine-One" was on the myths and legends of the Greeks and contained six or eight of those interesting stories with which everyone is supposed to be familiar. There were from twenty-five to forty-five pupils in a class—and the class period was forty-five minutes, half of which was supposed to be

given to supervised study. The problem was simply to devise a method by which each of forty-five pupils could recite as many stories as possible in twenty-two and a half minutes.

When the assignment was made it was announced that each pupil would have a chance to tell several of the stories in class. The day of the recitation pupils were paired off so that each individual could face his partner across the aisle. The individuals down one row were called "Ones," down the next row, "Twos," down the third, "Ones," etc. Each was given a slip of paper, and told to put his name on it. Then these directions were given:

"In order that each of you can recite a number of these stories today, Ones and Twos are going to take turn being teacher and pupil. In a minute I will have each Number One close his book and tell his partner one of these stories. Each Two will keep his book open to see that his partner makes no mistakes, to correct him if necessary, and to grade him. If he tells the whole story well, give him ten; if he is not prepared on it at all, give zero; if you think he tells it only about half right, give five, etc. Use your own judgment. Put a grade for each recitation on his slip, and initial it. After any recitation is finished and the grade is given, both may open their books and study any story not yet recited. Now, are there any questions on what we are to do?—Ones close your books! Twos open yours to page sixty-nine. Ones tell the story of the Golden Fleece."

(If there was an odd number in the class, one three had to work together.) As soon as they were sure that all Ones should recite at the same time, they began in earnest. Sometimes Twos had to prompt, there were discussions, appeals to the book. But since they were stories that are universally interesting, and everyone likes to tell, the recitation went on as smoothly and orderly as one could wish. After the buzz of the recitation had ceased—

"Has each Two given his pupil a grade and initialed it?—Twos close your books, Ones open yours to page sixty-seven. Twos tell the story of Hercules and the Apples of the Hesperides."

In this manner each had the opportunity of telling two, three or four stories, and of "teaching" as many more.

"Each should now have three grades on his slip, with the grader's initials. The last person in each row collect the slips in order." (Perhaps the grades given did not mean much, but they had served to make the whole proceeding more important and had added to the "teacher's" responsibility.)

In the writer's experience this device has been uniformly successful wherever tried with subject-matter similar to that above. A further application of it was employed in supervised study. It was explained to the class that besides studying our next lesson we were working to increase the rate and quality of our reading. (Each had recently measured his rate.)

"Everyone find page 160, the topic on Roman

Law. Keep your finger in the place, close your books, and listen. I will tell you when to start and when to stop. In the time allowed learn all you can about that one topic, Roman Law. If you read it clear through, look back to whatever you are not sure about, or read it over. When time is up those I indicate will tell their partners as much as they can remember of what they read. Then their partners may tell them whatever they left out, if time allows. Is there any question? Ready, start!"

Time was allowed for only the best readers to finish. "Stop! Two close your books, and tell Ones all you can of what you have read."

Grading here would not be fair, and is not necessary because everyone realizes how valuable the exercise is.

"Is there anyone who has not finished reciting? Then all open your books to page 161, and read the next topic. Is there anyone who has not found the place? Ready, start!"

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

W. G. Kimmel, Chairman

A committee of six members, appointed by the National Council of Geography Teachers in 1925, with A. E. Parkins, chairman, has published "Geography in the Junior High School: Report of the National Council Committee on High School Geography" in the September number of *The Journal of Geography* (A. Y. Nystrom & Company, 2249 Calumet Ave., Chicago, Ill.). An introductory statement is followed by "The 'claims' of Geography as a Junior High Subject," in which are presented what the committees believe to be the contributions which geography can make to the education of children at the junior high school level. It is suggested that geography may serve as a "core" subject, about which may be built the other courses in the curriculum.

Objectives are listed in three groups: knowledge objectives, habits, and appreciations. The minimum curriculum recommended by the Committee includes two years' work involving "two major fields of study": "A. Resources and Industries of the United States and Their World Relations; B. The Interdependence of Nations and Regions." Thirteen topics are outlined for the first course, with suggestions for the interpretation of the topics. Six major topics are listed for the second course.

Aside from the mention of geography as a "core" subject and the statement that "Geography has long been recognized as a synthetic subject because of its intimate relation to the social, biological, and physical sciences," the Committee does not state specifically the relation of geography to the social studies. The position of the Committee is probably indicated in the following statement:

"The boundaries imposed by 'subjects' should not be permitted to hamper unnecessarily the teacher and pupils in following out a lead and developing association and natural relationships."

A unique plan for the teaching of history, which corresponds in some features to the laboratory method used in the United States, is described by F. Crossfield Happold, D. S. O., M. A., Senior History Master, in The Perse School, Cambridge, England, in *The Study of History in Schools as a Training in the Training in the Art of Thought*. (Historical Association Leaflet, No. 69), (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1927. Price, one shilling).

The author stresses the need of "a fresh orientation of aim"; supplants the "mass of historical facts and opinions" with "certain capabilities and qualities," including the collection, examination, and correlation of facts, ability to express results, ability to think and argue logically and independently, the realization that conclusions are working hypotheses, and the development of mental flexibility, imagination, and sympathy. The test of instruction is sound mental training and the acquiring of sound habits of thought rather than the amount of history pupils have learned.

In order to attain the aims set forth, the author presents a plan of instruction with concrete examples to illustrate the different steps in the teaching technique. With boys 12 to 14 years of age, he is concerned with the use of tools

of study, such as training in the making of charts, the preparation of notebooks, the writing of ballads and songs, accounts, imaginary diaries, letters, and dialogues, and the presentation of oral reports. Such activities constitute the preliminary training of pupils as a foundation for further study.

Later emphasis is placed on appreciation of the meaning and significance of events, on a realization of the "pattern of history," or continuity in the development and relationships of historical facts, on the examination and evaluation of facts in their many-sided relationships "to bring about a known result." Oral instruction is used only to supplement and to furnish guidance for the pupils, who do most of the work. They prepare diagrammatic charts, work in pairs in the gathering of facts, in the collection of notes, and in the writing of group reports. The first term of the year's work is given to the development of the "pattern of history," followed by two terms of group work.

Following this stage of instruction, in which pupils are acquiring habits of sound study and the ability to collect and use historical materials, they take up individual study, which involves certain elements included in the group work, but also includes more independent use of the library, greater demands in increased ability to use materials, and in the use of critical powers of thought. Each pupil selects a topic for independent study, and his results are finally presented in the form of a thesis, which indicates his attainments in abilities and attitudes. Two terms of a year's work are devoted to a study of European history since 1815, and the final term is devoted to independent study.

The author presents concrete illustrative materials throughout the fifteen-page discussion of the plan, and also includes samples of charts and topics for independent study. The plan, in short, affords opportunities for training in the use of tools as a foundation, for group study, and finally for independent study. Provision is made for progress in the subject, for individual differences, for graded steps in the development and use of the abilities and attitudes of pupils.

Laboratory procedure in instruction in the social studies, in which conferences and study, tables and equipment replace the formalized question-and-answer recitations and formal classroom furniture, seems slowly to be finding a place in progressive high schools. Harry J. Hartley, in the November number of the *Pennsylvania School Journal*, describes "The Laboratory Method in Social Studies as used in Donora High School." The chief features of the plan are: movable furniture and equipment, duplicate copies of several textbooks and reference books, shelves and compartments labelled according to the units in the courses of study, manila folders for the filing of fugitive materials, equipment for visual instruction, instruction sheets for each unit of every course, and a technique of instruction involving several steps as pupils proceed in the study of the unit. The writer cites the following merits of the labo-

ratory procedure: improved study habits, greater pupil activity, provisions for individual differences, more accessible materials for study, better surroundings for study, natural group organization for study, more independent study, and attention focussed on the subject rather than on the textbook.

One of the most effective methods of explaining difficult subjects in the social studies, as used by Mary P. Carroll, of the San Jose, California, High School, is the use of charts. Since there are few available charts, the problem has been met by a plan of correlation between the social studies and mechanical drawing departments. If pupils are enrolled in both departments, they are permitted to substitute charts for assigned reports in the social studies classes; if they are enrolled only in drawing classes, they receive credit in drawing for charts made for the social studies department. The charts consist of graphs, drawings, and diagrams, copied from books and magazines and enlarged on large sheets of white cardboard. Neat lettering and color add to their usability and attractiveness. Examples of materials include: rise and fall of prices, business cycles, purchasing power of the dollar, organization of government departments, forms of municipal government, and the process of law-making.

Elsie M. Wood, of the San Jose, California, High School, conducts an election in connection with the teaching of civics. The main features of the plan are: (1) distribution and filing of mimeographed copies of the affidavit of registration by every pupil; (2) the collection and arrangement of the affidavits by the county clerk; (3) the circulation of nominating petitions to be signed by pupils, and verified as to correct signatures by the county clerk; (4) the preparation of ballots for the direct primary election, based on the returns from the petitions; (5) pupil election officers conduct a direct primary election, using election equipment, including a booth, loaned from the city authorities; (6) the general election follows the direct primary election. The pupils use a collection of sample ballots, collected from several states, to show variations in election regulations, the long and short ballots, the party-column and the office-column ballots. An exhibit of posters in different languages, in which an appeal is made to aliens to become citizens, is used in the study of naturalization.

An Historical Consideration of Economics in Secondary Schools, 1821-1924, has been made at the University of Chicago by Earl J. Dougherty. (M. A. Thesis, School of Education. September, 1926.) The purpose of the study is stated as an attempt to discover "how the current courses in economics have come to be what they are" by an analysis of their historical background.

The teaching of high school economics during the years 1821 to 1924 divides itself naturally into three periods. From 1821 to 1865, economics, as revealed by an analysis of the textbooks in use, was primarily an abstraction and was often coupled with moral philosophy. From the end of the Civil War to 1892 a second period is distinctly recognizable. Economics gained slightly in both prestige and practicability, due principally to the "second industrial revolution" of the period. A series of "systematic" textbooks tried to present economics as "a completely rounded system of thought." Most of the texts were "hybrids" in that they were written for both high school and college classes, but toward the end of the period a beginning was made in the preparation of economics material for distinctly high school use.

In the third period, 1892-1924, an examination of the texts shows economics becoming increasingly concrete and practical. There is considerable recognition of the social nature of economic activity. The aim of the texts seems to be "to teach economic citizenship." For this most recent period Mr. Dougherty's study includes not only an analysis of the texts in use, but also a summarization of committee recommendations and state programs of study, and an examination of various surveys made in the teaching of economics in recent years. The committee recommendations show a development of economics in the curriculum through three phases since 1892: (1) economics should be taught as

a series of topics in the history classes, (2) then economics was called for as a part of the modern problems courses, and, in very recent years, (3) it has been given an independent place in the curriculum. Surveys seem to show a steady increase in the number of schools offering economics—"during the period from 1892 to 1924 the percentage of schools teaching economics grew from 5 to nearly 50 per cent."

One of the problems faced by most busy and energetic teachers of the social studies is that of the most profitable selection of a minimum number of worth-while articles published in current periodicals, which will contribute to a more adequate analysis and interpretation of social phenomena. John Dewey, in the November number of *The World Tomorrow* (52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York), presents an analysis of the psychological basis and implications of nationalism, entitled, "The Fruit of Nationalism." Charles A. Beard, in "Recent Gains in Government," in the same publication, points out the present-day improvements in all phases of governments, with the possible exception of county government and the administration of foreign affairs. Pessimists and platform purveyors of dire calamities, who lack historical perspective, should be disarmed by the writer's use of the comparative method in citing situations in the past which were more deplorable than present-day political scandals.

At the autumn meeting of the Connecticut State Teachers' Association, papers were read by the following persons: Bertha Bentley, Bently School, New York City, "Industrial Arts and the Social Studies"; Rebecca Coffin, Elementary Principal of the Lincoln School, Teachers' College, New York City, "Industrial Arts in Connection with Social Studies"; Wilbur F. Gordy, Author and President of Hartford Board of Education, "Why Should We Teach History? And What Kind of History Should We Teach?"; Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale University, "The Approach to Social History"; Richard L. Wampler, New Britain State Normal School, "Applications of Psychology to the Teaching of History"; Charles M. Gill, New York University, "Pupil's Interest or Interests in History Study"; Mabel Williams, Supervisor of Work with Schools, New York Public Library, "Young People and the Reading of History"; Wallace W. Atwood, President of Clark University, "The Trend of Modern Geography."

The New Jersey Association of Teachers of the Social Studies met in Atlantic City, November 11th, in connection with the annual meeting of the New Jersey State Teachers' Association. About 300 teachers were present to hear Dr. David Saville Muzzey discuss "What Shall We Teach as History?" Mr. Merton C. Leonard, Dickinson High School, Jersey City, gave a report on the meeting of the History Section of the World Federation of Educational Associations, held at Toronto in August.

The Social Studies Division of the Missouri State Teachers' Association presented the following program at the autumn meeting: Professor C. H. McClure, "Eighth- and Eleventh-Grade American History in Junior and Senior High School"; Professor J. J. Oppenheimer, "The Course in Citizenship in the Ninth Grade"; Miss Edna Wood, "World History in the Senior High School"; Mrs. Pauline D. Knobbs, "The American Problems Course in the Senior High School, Its Organization, Value, and Possibilities."

The program of the Pennsylvania Council for the Social Studies, for the December 29th meeting, is based on the general topic: "Promoting International Understanding Through Teaching the Social Studies." The following persons are scheduled for addresses: Dr. Roscoe L. West, Assistant Commissioner of Education, New Jersey; Dr. Lucy Wilson, Principal, South Philadelphia High School for Girls; Miss Florence Franklin, Peabody High School, Pittsburgh.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Modern State. By R. M. MacIver. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1926. xii, 504 pp. \$7.00.

Professor MacIver does not set out to propound radically new or revolutionary hypotheses regarding the origin or nature of political society. This may be better described as a very illuminating rather than a brilliantly suggestive book. It is an admirable piece of sound exposition, written in clear, concise English, and adequately covers the essential phases of the subject. It is a work upon the theory of the State which has the distinction of being based upon a thorough understanding both of history and of the practical working of political institutions. A major element in its usefulness is the author's concise and penetrating treatment of numerous points upon which much has already been written. His succinct appraisals of political institutions should prove especially helpful to teachers of Government. This is a book which every student of Political Science should own.

The author very properly begins with a discussion of the nature of the State. His approach is realistic. The State, he holds, is not a *Community*, an integral unity (like a nation, city or tribe), nor is it an *Institution*, a mode or means of social activity (like matrimony, the party machine, or class distinctions). The State is an *Association*, a partial unity within a society (hence like a family, a church, a political party, or a Chamber of Commerce). That is, only part of one's life falls within the Association; it consists of a group of members organized in a definite way and therefore for limited ends. Such a characterization of the State is fundamental in the author's treatment of his subject. It contributes greatly to the clarification of a very confused issue. It does not necessarily throw us into the camp of the Pluralists. Rather it enables us to avoid, if we wish, the mystery and obfuscation bound up with the theory of sovereignty. At the same time it furnishes us a simple criterion as to what, in the narrower and more usual sense, is the scope of "Politics." It raises, however, the crucial question—what are the distinctive features which mark off the State from other Associations? This Professor MacIver answers with the definition: "The State is an Association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed with coercive power, maintains within a Community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order."

Having determined tentatively its essential criteria, the writer next deals with the "Emergence of the State." The caption forecasts his evolutionary interpretation. With a masterly hand he traces State development through primitive society, the early empires, the politics of Greece and Rome, and mediaeval eclipse, to the broad and enduring bases of nationalism and democracy. The author's treatment aims to show that the State as a structure was not coeval or coextensive with Society, but was built up within it as a determinate order for the attainment of specific ends. Among the chief modes or factors which contributed to this development were the accumulation of mobilizable wealth, the establishment or re-formation of social classes in terms of dominance and subjection, the social changes involved in city life, the emergence of the idea of citizenship, the development of law, and finally nationalism and the principle of representation. Furthermore, the earlier forms of the State lacked a basis sufficiently broad and stable to ensure their persistence and growth. The fatal weakness of the Greek City-States, for instance, was their doctrine of the all-inclusive partnership which again merged the State in the Community. Rome, in contrast, achieved the distinction of civil from political rights, also a political unity based on a metropolitan citizenship unknown to Greece, but which was inadequate to consolidate an extended empire. With the development of

nationalism, and the achievement of representative democracy, however, the author believes the State has surpassed the earlier imperfect forms, and is now built upon enduring foundations. The emergence of the State, then, was not due to force, although force undoubtedly played a part in the process of its expansion.

Professor MacIver devotes a third of his book to a discussion of the powers and functions of the State. This section is somewhat less convincing than the rest of his analysis. Some hold that State sovereignty extends over all aspects of social life and admit no limits to its competence. Others affirm that it shares this sovereignty with numerous Associations, and narrowly circumscribe its possible functions. The definitive consideration in regard to this problem would appear to be the fact that the State alone has the authority to characterize its activity as "legal," and is endowed with a coercive power denied to other Associations. Political activity, in the last analysis, becomes a contest among the other Associations for control of the coercive machinery of the State. This being the situation, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the rôle of the State is to *undertake* the performance of whatever functions those for the time being in control of its machinery shall decree. Very probably there are functions which the State cannot perform; certainly the social heritage of the Community imposes immediate barriers in several directions—but a social heritage may gradually be transformed. Failure to adopt such a position as this at the outset, or any advance beyond it, involves us in the field of political ethics. For this reason the characteristic weakness of discussions of the sphere of the State is a confusion of what it perhaps cannot do with what the writer thinks it ought not to do. At the present at least, enumerations both of the limitations and the functions of the State are a matter of subjective determination.

In treating of the limits of political control, Professor MacIver does not entirely avoid this difficulty. He holds that the State meets definite and conclusive limitations in its effort to control opinion, such practices and observances as depend on belief or conviction, and the sphere ruled by custom. This is equivalent to saying that the whilom masters of the State cannot with impunity outrage the social heritage of their subjects. But is it not true that opinion is a matter of indifference to Political Science until it becomes "public," and that force can (for long enough to work grave consequences) control the emergence of opinion into public guise? Even a thoroughly indoctrinated people may lose faith in their idols and dethrone them should they fail to conquer the foe, yet, barring the disillusionment of catastrophe, the deliberate and coercive moulding of a community's habit background can be carried far. Furthermore, no matter how desirable a theoretical basis for the relation of Church and State may be worked out, the fact remains that the churches, like other associations, will decide for themselves to what extent they shall endeavor to inject themselves into political affairs. Similarly, as regards the relation of economic to political power, the author's view of the function of the State is in general that underlying the "New Freedom." Such a relationship might be possible were there a fairly even balance between the various types of mobilized economic force, but where one group is dominant, the State inevitably tends to become its executive committee. True, there must now be the appeal to the people, but to overcome this difficulty (which the land-owning oligarchies of the past did not face), the "manufacture of consent," as Lippmann calls it, has been made a science. It is doubtful whether economic and political power are now as separate as the author would believe. Again, it is doubtful whether conscious perception of the nature and limitations of the State was the determining

factor in the formation of other associations (p. 165). The mere fact that the State was not at the time fulfilling the function in question, and the desire to restrict control as far as possible to the immediate circle of promoters, would be sufficient incentives. On the positive side, the author groups his enumeration of the proper functions of the State under three heads—maintenance of order, protection, conservation and development. Such a sphere, he maintains, is so vast that it is absurd to regard the denial of state-omnipotence as belittlement; nevertheless, omnipotence means incompetence.

It is in Professor MacIver's treatment of political institutions, especially in his discussion of the nature and functions of law, and his chapter on the articulation of governmental powers, that his penetrating criticism, as well as his ability to present in brief compass the gist of our contemporary understanding of these problems, is perhaps most apparent. The ten pages on bicameralism, for instance, contain the substance of what may be said at present upon this subject. His pragmatic justification of democracy, the way for which was prepared in the historical chapters, carries conviction. He concludes a luminous appraisal of the checks and balances system as now operative with the comment: "It is suggested that no more in the State than in any other association should there be organs of equal validity for the doing of the same things." His criticism of the principle of separation of powers is heartily recommended as an antidote to more evangelical discussions of American government, and his development of the distinction between civilization and culture should be ingested and if possible digested by all Babbitts. The chapter on political parties, on the other hand, is much less stimulating than, for instance, Bentley's suggestive treatment of the subject. Some would criticize it for emphasis on temperament, rather than on the determinants of temperament (especially the economic factors) as bases of party distinctions, also for neglect to set forth sufficiently and to distinguish the bearing of major issues upon party alignment and the phenomena peculiar to "institutionalization." It might be mentioned, too, in passing, that the author has not been entirely happy in the selection of water supply to exemplify a matter of distinctly local concern (p. 392), that he still has the Local Government Board charged with the general oversight of English local government (p. 393), and that it is a remarkable error for a Scot to speak so frequently of "England" when he is obviously referring to Britain.

The final section of the volume is devoted to further elucidation of the author's thesis regarding the nature and true place of the State, that "The State must be regarded as an association among others...It commands only because it serves; it owns only because it owes. It creates rights not as the lordly dispenser of gifts, but as the agent of society for the creation of rights. The servant is not greater than his master. As other rights are relative to function and are recognized as limited by it, so too the rights of the State *should* be. It has the function of guaranteeing rights. To exercise this function it needs and receives certain powers. These powers should be limited just as the function is limited."

How then can the power which determines rights be itself subject to obligation? The great difference between the political thought of the present and of the past lies in the definite assertion nowadays of the limited and relative character of sovereignty. The State has sovereignty, but that is limited to the exercise of its own functions; "sovereignty is the will of an association, not of the community." The State is limited because it, like other associations, is but an organ of the community, even though it be the community's chief agent of unification. "In our search for unity we come at last to the individual...We find it not in the surrender, but in the fulfillment of personality; not in an imposed order, but in one which is responsive to the inmost nature of every man."

A. GORDON DEWEY.

Columbia University.

A Short History of the British Working Class Movement.

By G. D. H. Cole. Two volumes in one. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. 192, 211 pp.

Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867. By Frances Elma Gillespie. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1927. 319 pp.

The Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain. By Georgiana Putnam McEntee. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. x, 212 pp.

In two volumes of a projected three-volume work Mr. Cole carries the history of the British Working-Class Movement from its beginnings in the late eighteenth to the close of the nineteenth century. On the whole, it is an admirable book: clear, though never inspired in style; reasonably impartial, without being insipid; compact, yet more than an epitome. Refusing to allow himself to be blinded by the glamor of personalities, Mr. Cole gives a real history of the Working-Class Movement as a movement, a product of the great economic changes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Throughout the years we see the working-class rising Phoenix-like from the ashes of each new failure, giving birth to strange inchoate forms of organization and philosophy, yet steadily growing in strength and maturity. Defeats are explained by failure of circumstance rather than of individual leadership. "Before the proletariat could hope to defeat Capitalism, Capitalism had to bring the proletariat to maturity." It is easy to see from this book, even if one had no other indications, where Mr. Cole's sympathies lie, but his account will be found satisfactory by all looking for a brief treatment of this aspect of English history.

Dr. Gillespie has written the first detailed account of the part played by labor in the politics leading up to the second Reform Act. There are two main threads to this story; the reform movement itself and the associated effort to bring about an alliance of the workers with the middle class. Apparently this entente would not necessarily have meant reform, had it not been for the increasing agitation of the workers, partly inspired by events abroad, like the Polish Insurrection of 1863 and the Liberation of Italy, but most of all animated by a natural desire to remove the legal restraints placed upon organized labor. When the agitation became vigorous enough both Liberals and Conservatives bethought themselves of reform. Miss Gillespie's account is not intended to displace any popular novels, but it is in some ways the most satisfactory of the three books here reviewed.

Miss McEntee divides the history of social Catholicism into four parts: the work of Cardinal Manning, with whom Social Catholicism began; Catholic theorists and the problem of political action; the organization and work of the Catholic Social Guild; and, finally, English Social Catholicism in its contacts with the outside world. Of these, the most interesting for the average reader will probably be the analysis of Catholic social thought in its relation to other schools. One cannot avoid the feeling that Miss McEntee's book is more important as a study of one aspect of the nineteenth-century attempt to Christianize the churches than as a study in social history strictly so-called. The Church may have more closely approximated the Christian ideal; the social order remained almost wholly untouched. There were a few sores healed here and there—social settlements established, retreats for workers, much agitation against intemperance and vice. But the Church has produced no Moses to lead England out of her industrial bondage. Instead, we have Mr. Chesterton's sputtering paradoxes and Mr. Belloc pontificating about "Catholic" institutions like the Jury and the Guild. It is easy to point to definite social advances made by the regenerated Liberal Party or the Working-Class Movement described by Mr. Cole, but it looks as if the social history of nineteenth-century England might be written almost without mention of "social Catholicism." This is less true, of course, if we disagree with Miss McEntee and take the word "Catholicism" to include more than the Roman Communion. Such criticism aside, and within the limits of her topic, Miss

McEntee has written an interesting book, frank in its attitude, and often pungent in its style.

T. P. PEARDON.

Barnard College.

The Anti-Slavery Movement in England. By Frank J. Klingberg, Ph.D. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1926. xii, 390 pp.

Professor Klingberg prefaces his study of the intensive anti-slavery crusade from 1770 to 1833 by a study of the rising tide of humanitarian feeling in the eighteenth century. After the famous legal decisions in England (1772) and Scotland (1778), the humanitarian attitude became much more aggressive. Great activity was shown in the decade before the opening of the French war in 1793. Pitt was even interested, although he was never sufficiently concerned to support fully his friend Wilberforce. Dr. Klingberg thinks that Pitt was "unable" (p. 88) to make abolition a government measure, a judgment based on the assumption that Pitt was determined to remain in office.

The abolition of the trade in 1807 did not end the fight against the slave system; "the battle had only just begun." Professor Klingberg clearly and interestingly shows how difficult it was to make abolition effective. "The coast of Africa (after 1807) presented all the old scenes,....and the condition of the slaves in the British colonies did not seem to improve." By 1823, in consequence, the Anti-Slavery Society was formed in order to attack slavery itself. The ten-year struggle ending with emancipation in 1833 is taken up in great detail. Stupendous efforts were made to arouse public opinion. In this work, Thomas Fowell Buxton was remarkably effective, aided as he was by the Quakers, the emancipated Catholics, including the powerful voice of O'Connell, and a public that was thoroughly aroused. The record of the long struggle affords the student of American history interesting opportunities for comparison and contrast with the American slavery question and its solution.

The volume is well done. Throughout the account there are numerous brief sketches of the leading figures. No serious objection can be found with the general treatment save that at times hardly enough care is taken in tracing influences. Though the volume is well documented, a few additional notes would have been useful. The African Institution should have been characterized when first mentioned. "Collins' excellent work" (p. 176) is not named save in the bibliography, nor is its value appraised. In treating the famous John Smith case, reference should have been made to Morley's *Gladstone* (I, 22). The Sierra Leone experiment might well have received a fuller treatment. The accepted spelling of the West Indian sugar colony is "Barbados." The bibliography is elaborate and well organized. The inclusion, however, of obvious textbook accounts of British history is hardly necessary, nor does there seem any reason for listing such works as Lord Erle's (spelled "Ernly" on p. 24) *English Farming, Past and Present*. There are several useful documentary appendices.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Miami University.

The Borderland in the Civil War. By Edward Conrad Smith. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. 395 pp.

In his discussion of the part played by the people of the Borderland during the war for southern independence, Professor Smith does not quite maintain the high standard which he sets for himself in the opening pages. The first chapter in his volume is an admirable short essay on the economic and social conditions of the region which probably determined the fate of the Union between 1861 and 1865. The Borderland, as defined by Professor Smith, included the southern counties of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, all of Trans-Alleghany Virginia, and the states of Kentucky and Missouri. It was a homogeneous section, with a white population nearly as great as that of the eleven seceded states. Its interests growing out of social and economic contacts were almost evenly divided between North and South. Considerations of sentiment and business, as well

as location, made it debatable ground. It is probably true that in 1860 the region was a "geographical, social, industrial, and political unit." While its attitude toward the impending conflict was doubtful, two things were reasonably certain: that it would make every possible concession to preserve the Union; and "that whatever decision it made, it would be united."

The story of how the people of the Borderland reacted to the election of Lincoln, the secession of the lower South, and the firing on Sumter has been told piecemeal. This volume provides a synthesis, occasionally brilliant, but not always adequate. While the treatment of the compromise proposals and the secessionist movement on the border reveals an understanding of the temper of the compromisers, there is little to commend in the chapter dealing with President Lincoln's policy in the border states. The author is at his best in his analysis of the political effects of the "copperhead" movement.

After a comprehensive survey of developments in Kentucky, Professor Smith concludes that the presence of slaves had little influence on the course of public opinion. "What influence it had," he says, "seems to have been exerted on the side of the Union." This sweeping generalization is apparently based upon the results of the special Congressional election of June, 1861, at which time the Union ticket carried many counties where the slave population was numerous. While the success of the Unionists in this particular contest was impressive, it should be borne in mind that the Southern Rights party in certain sections had remained away from the polls. The total vote in the election was scarcely half the number cast in the presidential election of the preceding year. Furthermore, the Unionist majorities probably represented an endorsement of Kentucky's policy of neutrality as much as an expression of sympathy with the attitude of the Lincoln administration. Certainly a fairer test of the influence of slavery upon public opinion in the state is to be found in the record of enlistments in the Federal armies. The statistics compiled to the autumn of 1864 show that volunteering to the forces of the United States was greatest in the poorer sections of the state where slaves were less numerous and less important. On the basis of this test the rich Blue Grass region, dominated by the slave-holding interests, had little heart for the Union cause. It is also true that the western counties on the Mississippi and in the lower valleys of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, where slavery was not so essential, were strongholds of secessionist sentiment.

Undecided as the people of the Borderland were in 1861, they exercised a decisive influence during the period of the war. Though their effort to secure a peaceful settlement failed, it effectually blocked the secessionist movement and gained valuable time for the nationalists. So long as the war was being fought for the preservation of the Union, the voluntary enlistments of the Borderland were greater than those of any other section. Even when the issue of the war was apparently changed by the Emancipation Proclamation, there was complaint and criticism, but no turning from the all-important object of defeating disunion.

JOHN A. KROUT.

Columbia University.

Self-Direction and Adjustment. By Norman Fenton. Edited by Lewis M. Terman, World Book Company, 1927. 121 pp.

This little book is a most appropriate addition to the "Measurement and Adjustment Series," and its small size is in striking contrast with the importance of its content, and with the broad and able manner in which its author has treated a most difficult subject. It is a remarkable commentary upon American education that it should have had to wait until 1927 for the appearance of a book of this sort; and still more remarkable that the state of our educational conscience appears to the Editor in such a light that in the preface he almost apologetically suggests that students in high school and college should be encouraged to study the art of studying and of learning. Any one who is at all in touch with American teachers knows that Professor Termon has correctly appraised the attitude of the

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teaching world toward this problem, as evidenced in his modest suggestion that this book be made a required reading for high school and college students.

Such a prescription would be more justifiable for all classes of students that many of the now required readings are for any class of students. A good beginning would be for administrators to read and study this book themselves, then require all their teachers to read it.

This is undoubtedly the best book that has appeared to date on this subject. It considers such knotty and perennial problems as the control of worry and day-dreaming, concentration, self-dependence, memory, originality and thinking, reading, etc., and presents much sound and helpful advice, and suggests many concrete devices by which students of varying temperament may hopefully seek to realize their maximal potentialities.

BEN D. WOOD.

Columbia College.

The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning. Vol. I, 1850-1864. Edited with introduction and notes by Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall. Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois, 1925.

When a man sits down with his diary he has three courses before him: to write what he has done, to write what he thinks, or to do both. Mr. Browning was not a Welles or a Polk: he noted the weather; his physical location during the day; if in a hotel, he recorded the number of the room; and sometimes an account of his activities; what he thought or what his reactions were to events he seldom confided to the pages of his diary. Naturally, therefore, there is much in the record of no value and a tantalizing blank often is found where much could have been written. "Warm day. Rain in afternoon. Attended church twice and heard Dr. Blatchford morning and night"; page after page of this. But there is much to repay reading.

In the first place, there is really a wealth of disconnected detail as to conditions of travel in Illinois and beyond her borders in the fifties. Browning was a lawyer, whose business took him to many parts of his state and elsewhere, and he gives many accounts of journeys. Then there is much miscellany regarding amusements and some about religious customs. No one could ask for a more meticulous history of the weather for fourteen years. But it is about politics that we find our most valuable information.

Browning was a Whig with considerable political interest and influence, but living in a Democratic district. He became interested in the new Republican party when it was an anti-Nebraska conglomeration in 1854. Scattering items show some indications of the crystallization of sentiment for the new party. He was evidently active in all the early moves of the Republicans in Illinois, but his entries are disappointingly scant, and when we come to the activities in Springfield connected with the defeat of Lincoln by Trumbull in 1855 for the senatorship, the pages are torn out. Before 1860 references to Lincoln are few and unrevealing. However, in the latter year Lincoln begins to figure more prominently.

Browning was not in favor of Lincoln's nomination, but worked hard for Edward Bates of Missouri. Bates' defeat, however, found Browning ready to support Lincoln, and in February, 1861, we have the first evidence that Lincoln was giving Browning his confidence; in fact, the President-elect invited the diarist to be one of the inaugural party accompanying him to Washington. Browning declined this honor, but wrote to Lincoln very often in the ensuing months. Douglass' death made a vacancy in the Senate to which Browning was appointed, and to Washington the new senator went for the special session commencing July 4, 1861. The next two years contain the most important of the items yet published. Browning seems to have enjoyed Lincoln's confidence to the utmost, was on very good terms with Mrs. Lincoln, had free access to the White House at all times, and acted as the President's spokesman in the Senate. There are many items of interest, especially in 1862. We learn that Lincoln thought of taking the field in person in January. We see Browning, night after night in

February, watching at the sick bed of Lincoln's little boy. We shiver with the terror felt in Washington when the "Merrimac" seemed to have the North at its mercy. We read an account of Lincoln's military exploits when he went to the Peninsula in May, directed the navy and army, himself exploring the "Coast" to find a landing place for the troops before Yorktown. One of the reasons for giving Pope command in the East in June, 1862, was the urging of A. T. Stewart, who came to Washington for the purpose; and many more such items, even an account of Lincoln's violent anger on one occasion. But this was too good to last. Browning disagreed with Lincoln on emancipation. He felt it was unwise and was all the more convinced when he lost his seat in the Senate because of the anti-war reaction in Illinois which Browning blamed upon emancipation. Confidences ceased, then Browning went back home. Upon his next appearance in December, 1863, at Washington he came as a political attorney trading on his senatorial knowledge and his former influence, not an entirely praiseworthy occupation. He once more visited the White House, but then not as confidant of the President, but as a seeker for favors and privileges. Neither he nor the President appear in the best light. Browning is not overly confident of Lincoln's ability, and here the diary stops. Volume two is awaited with great interest.

This volume is a model of editing and its form is to be highly commended. The biographical introduction is very penetrating in its insight into the man's character and is altogether satisfying. The only regret that the reader will feel is that Browning should have been through so much and recorded so little. But for this the editors are in no way responsible and they and the Illinois Historical Society deserve thanks for making available this revealing, though fragmentary, source.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

University of Pennsylvania.

Pedro de Valdivia, Conqueror of Chile. By R. B. Cunningham Graham. William Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1926. xiii, 227 pp.

The conquests of Peru and Mexico have been made vividly known through the writings of Prescott, but the equally interesting exploits by the conquerors of New Granada, of La Plata, and of Chile have remained, at least in the English language, practically unsung. Consequently the recent histories of these movements—(New Granada, 1922, and La Plata, 1924)—by Mr. Graham were widely welcomed. This, his third study in the series of conquests in South America, has likewise been well received by students of Spanish colonization in the New World.

The book tells the absorbing story of the life of an heroic Estramaduran. Educated through fighting in the German and Italian wars, he burned to conquer for his king and to win for his God the souls of the natives in America. He was a typical *conquistador*, embodying "most of their feelings and their virtues." He lacked many talents but was imbued with "fierce tenacity" and "shrewd common sense." His conquest of Chile following 1540 lacked much of romance, but certainly not of danger, for his opponents, the Araucanians, were the most warlike, though chivalrous, Indians in South America. In the end the conqueror fell in the midst of his conquest and not until more than three hundred years had elapsed did the white man become master of the red.

The story, compiled partially from early Spanish histories, is told by the author in a charming style. The ten chapters are well documented. The appendix (pp. 127, 220) contains the translations of five letters written by Valdivia to Charles V describing the progress of the conquest. The index is serviceable. A map of part of Chile one hundred years after the conquest adds much to the interest of the work. In short, no student of Spanish occupation of America can afford to overlook this volume, and it should find a place on the reference shelves for all courses in Hispanic American history.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

Putnam's Historical Atlas. Edited by Ramsey Muir and George Philip. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1927. 96 pp. plus a 32-page index.

In preparing this atlas the Messrs. Putnam's Sons seem to have spared neither expense nor pains to produce a really complete, accurate, and serviceable book. Put up in convenient quarto size, the book contains some excellent introductory material comprising a survey of American Economic History, by Professor McElroy, of Oxford, followed by a section each on "The Shaping of Europe," "The Development of the British Isles," "The Expansion of Europe," "The British Empire," and "The United States." (Of the sixty-eight pages devoted to these five topics, twenty-five are given over to the British Isles and the British Empire.) Each of the sections is amply supplied with clear and understandable black and white maps and plans, but that on the "Economic History of the United States" has not a word to say about irrigation or conservation; and that on the "Expansion of Europe" is woefully weak on the causes for expansion.

There come next a series of ninety-six plates with numerous insets, covering the period of World History from about 395 A. D. to the present. The lithography is excellent and the maps are remarkably clear and legible and yet detailed enough to satisfy all the general needs which a small atlas can be expected to meet. (It is, for example, the first atlas coming within the reviewer's purview to have a really plain and useful map of the growth of Brandenburg-Prussia.) Further commendable features are the inclusion of a number of physical, industrial, and language maps and the insertion of several maps of the world as it appeared at different times in history, giving an excellent birdseye view of the distribution of lands and peoples at any given period. There seems to be, however, too much emphasis on maps and plans of battles and military campaigns.

The arrangement adopted is chronological rather than topical, which makes it somewhat inconvenient to follow through any particular line of development, but this is only a matter of opinion and doubtless many will prefer the system used. The index, covering thirty-two pages with five columns per page and said to include some thirteen thousand references, is very complete and handy, making it easy to find any required point, be it ever so small. In a work of this type it is probably almost impossible to avoid some errors, and Putnam's Atlas is no exception. Fortunately, however, the errors, some of which are inexcusable, are confined largely to the textual material and not to the maps. Thus on page xxii there is a reference to Macon Bill No. 11 instead of No. 2; on page xxviii the statement is made that the immigrants who came here "within the forty years immediately following the beginning of the Civil War" were "in general immigrants from industrial areas of Europe," to which exception might well be taken. It is doubtful whether one would be justified in saying that labor combinations before 1881 were "ineffective" (page xxxii). The imperial title was not held by Austrian Habsburgs from the death of Charles V nor did he die in 1555 (page 15). The Romanov dynasty did not come to power in 1623 (page 17), nor was Hanover made an electorate in 1712 (page 18), nor did the United States acquire Florida in 1818 (page 44). But leaving such slips out of consideration, for after all the maps are the main part of an atlas, this book has much merit and should prove decidedly popular with both instructors and students.

WALTER C. LANGSAM.

Columbia University.

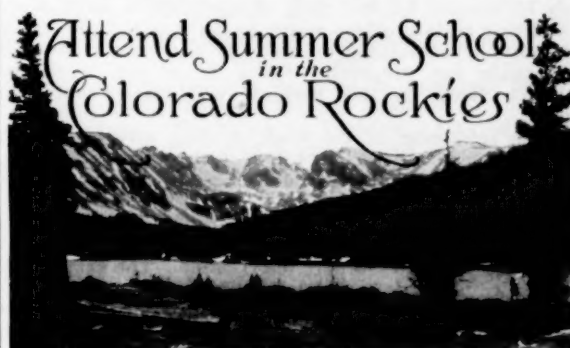
Teaching the Social Studies. By Edgar Dawson and others. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1927.

Another volume has appeared in the Teachers' Professional Library edited by Nicholas Murray Butler. Teachers of social subjects who know that series for its memorable volume by Henry Johnson on the Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools will expect very high achievement, and they will not be disappointed. The work is entitled, "The Teaching of the Social Studies," and is written by Professor Edgar Dawson. Perhaps "written

and edited" would more accurately describe the nature of Professor Dawson's work.

As all teachers of the social studies know, Professor Dawson has been interested in these problems for many years. Probably no one has been more closely in touch with the national developments in the teaching problem during the past ten years. In a sense, he has been in the thickest of the fight on the frontier of investigation of teaching problems during all this time. The reader will therefore expect to find both the fruits and scars of battle. Both are present, but his strenuous experiences of these years have failed to dim the cheerful optimism of the author, as the first two chapters testify.

The fruits are more abundant than the scars. The most striking achievement of the work is the collection of definitions of the social sciences. These are real definitions, not verbal formulæ, each an essay of about thirty pages. To follow the order of the book, Geography is defined by



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One might expect to find in the writings of such a distinguished array of scholars a pardonable emphasis upon individual points of view, irrespective of the purposes of this book. This is only slightly the case, however. Each has defined his subject with remarkable clearness, made generous allowance for varying points of view within his field, and considered duly the needs of the teachers in the schools. While there are variations in the degree to which these desirable ends have been attained, the differences are too small to justify invidious distinction. The relatively uniform success of these definitions is an editorial achievement. The reviewer knows of no better series of real definitions of these subjects to be found within equal scope.

Not everyone can agree with Professor Dawson in his view of the relationship of these subjects or approve entirely his reasons for including all the subjects listed above or omitting certain others which he did not include. Such unanimity, if attainable, which it is not, would be most unfortunate for progress. Suffice it to say, Professor Dawson's views on this problem will receive universal respect.

In the remainder of the work, dealing with objectives, curriculum, methods, the laboratory, tests and examinations, and teacher training, the author has sought less to present a comprehensive treatment than to bring together some of the recent advance in each of these topics. The chapters on the "social studies laboratory" and on "tests and examinations" will be especially appreciated. The chapter on specific objectives is least satisfactory.

To the many other merits of the work the author has added an excellent analytical bibliography, rounded off with a three-page bibliographical review, called "a few milestones in the development of the social studies," 1897 to the present. Such close selection necessarily involves the omission of some good works. Fortunately, most of these omissions are corrected in the preceding chapter bibliographies.

The verdict on the book made by the publishers will be endorsed by teachers generally. It fittingly belongs by the side of Henry Johnson's volume, which it effectively supplements, as one of the essential works for teachers of history and the other social studies.

A. C. KREY.

University of Minnesota.

Book Notes

When Ann Hulton, sister of the Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776, wrote the *Letters of a Loyalist Lady* (Harvard University Press, 1927; xii, 107 pp.; \$3.50), she little anticipated the recent Chicago fire. Never under the present régime will this book grace the shelves of the very, very Windy City. Notwithstanding that misfortune, the book may endure on its own merits. In these letters to "dear Mrs. Lightbody" in England is presented an informative sketch of New England life and politics on the eve of the revolution, which has the charm of simplicity and frankness. The inoculation of the little nephew before crossing to America, despite the prejudice of the nurse, the cost of living in the colonies, which was not so very cheap, due to the quantity of food consumed, and the ordering of "4 pr. Pumps and 4 pr. Shoes, of good black everlasting, from Mr. Garnet," of Liverpool, are only a few of the interesting items. The Commissioner, Henry Hulton, has, we learn, a very fine garden at his place in "Brooklyne, near Boston," and "the finest fruit in this province" comes from his orchard. In his greenhouse all sorts of vegetables were grown, and at the same time new kinds were introduced. But unfortunately an end had to come to all this. From her earliest days in Massachusetts Ann Hulton watched carefully the political situation. A riot on the day of her arrival drove home the realization of strife. Then she "soon found that the Mobs here are very

different from those in O England where a few lights put into the Windows will pacify." Added to violence was chicanery, for, when a mob attacked the Commissioner's house in 1770 and secured his withdrawal to the Castle, the story was spread that Hulton had hired the men to break his windows and nearly break his head in order to ruin the province. No less a divine than Dr. Chauncy propagated the story from his pulpit. Other loyalists suffered more, for the methods and even the garb, if not the name of the Klan, were well known. Beating, tarring and feathering, and scalping, gouging, and the slitting of noses and ears were all practiced on various unfortunates, according to the author. Ann, however, though a good Tory, was not vindictive, and her accounts carry conviction. Her brother became angry enough to refer to Joseph Warren as "a rascally patriot and apothecary," but he seems to have been generally moderate and as well liked as any British official. The collection is well edited, and the book a lovely piece of artistry.—C. F. MULLETT.

These Changing Times—A Story of Farm Progress During the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927; xi, 257 pp.), by E. R. Eastman, editor of "American Agriculturist," summarizes some of the more outstanding factors affecting American farm life during the last twenty-five years. These include transportation and communication, machinery, electric power, more efficient management, co-operative marketing, taxation, rural education, the church, standards of living, and farm legislation. His treatment throughout is sympathetic and reflective. Mr. Eastman readily admits that the farmer today is faced with many discouraging problems. He does not, however, believe that the American farmer will be relegated to a mere peasant status. He furnishes a challenge to those who maintain that farming is the least satisfactory of the various modes of life.

In a very true sense no person can count himself familiar with the literature of American History who is unacquainted with *The Journal of William Maclay*, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789-1791. This price-less document, dealing with the period which witnessed the inauguration of the federal government under the Constitution, and which is a veritable storehouse of information about American manners, morals, and intelligence, was brought out by D. Appleton & Company in 1890. Prefaced by a brilliant introduction by Charles A. Beard, it now appears under the auspices of Albert and Charles Boni (New York, 1927. xix, 429 pp.). "Anyone," as Mr. Beard well says, "who wants to discover the spirit that lay behind Jeffersonian democracy cannot afford to ignore this Journal"—"and anyone," Dr. Beard continues, "who loves rich old lore, like old wine in dusty bottles, must make it a familiar companion."

The Essentials of International Public Law and Organization (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. xxii, 784 pp.), by Amos S. Hershey, which first appeared in 1912 under the title of *The Essentials of International Public Law*, has been thoroughly revised. Although the plan and structure of the volume has not been changed, considerable new material has been added to Chapters IV (The History of International Law and Relations Since the Peace of Westphalia) and XXI (International Treaties). Chapter XXII (Amicable Means of Settlement of International Differences) is entirely new. The notes, references, and bibliographies have been overhauled and brought up to date. Those familiar with the earlier edition, as well as others, will welcome this extremely serviceable text.

The Freedmen's Saving Bank. A Chapter in the History of the Negro Race (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1927. x, 170 pp.), by Professor Walter L. Fleming, is, as the title implies, a chapter in the economic history of the American negro. The Freedmen's Saving Bank was organized largely through the efforts of John W. Alvord and other friends of the negro shortly

after the Civil War. Professor Fleming traces its origin, growth, decline, and failure and, at the same time, indicates its effect upon the negroes both by its foundation and its failure.

Volume III of Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer's *A History of the United States Since the Civil War* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1926. x, 529 pp.) covers the years from 1872 to 1878. As in the case of the preceding volumes, the author's treatment is largely political, as the following chapter headings indicate: The Greeley Campaign, The Panic of 1873, Clearing Away the Wreck, The Rout of the Carpetbaggers, Hayes and Tilden, The Hayes Administration, On the Plains and in the Mountains, Letters and Art. Like its predecessors, too, the work shows an almost endless amount of research. For the person who wants to know more about the great social and economic changes which were already under way prior to the Civil War, and which that conflict stimulated, there is little in this volume. Perhaps Mr. Oberholtzer will deal with these transformations in the two remaining volumes which will complete the series.

A History of the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union, Local 10 (Local 10, New York, 1927. xii, 450 pp.), by James Oneal, constitutes the second important contribution dealing with the history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and its affiliated organizations during the last few years. The present volume, like Dr. Levine's *The Women's Garment Workers. A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union*, is a study in social and economic history. Mr. Oneal traces meticulously the story of the early beginnings of labor organization in the garment industry, the trials and tribulations which have beset Local 10 in its checkered career, and the present situation. Any one who wants to understand more clearly the background of the recent communist-led strike, which outwardly seems to have nearly wrecked the entire garment labor organizations, should read this volume. Certainly all students interested in the history of the social and economic development of the United States will find in it a wealth of information. The several charts in the appendices should prove very helpful.

Teachers of social science will find Bernhard J. Stern's *Social Factors in Medical Progress* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1927. 136 pp.) extremely useful. In the first chapter he briefly surveys and summarizes the psychological and sociological factors which retard the introduction and diffusion of cultural innovations. In the remaining ten chapters of Part One he shows how these same factors have, and still do, retard the diffusion of medical discoveries, including vaccination, the circulation of the blood, surgery, and Pasteur's theories. The three chapters which comprise Part Two list many of the multiple inventions and discoveries in the history of medicine and indicate somewhat briefly the contribution of several individuals to medical progress. The factors discussed in chapter one apply to all phases of our cultural pattern, and should be familiar to every person who would understand how our present civilization came to be and why so many outworn features of it are still retained.

A Short History of the Irish People. Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1603; Part II, From 1603 to the Present Time (Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., London, 1927. xxv, 585 pp.), by Mary Hayden and George A. Moonan, although revised, is essentially political history. One wishes that more space had been given to the social, economic, and intellectual history of the Irish people. Moreover, portions of the volume have every appearance of having been hurriedly composed. This is especially true of the last chapter. Bibliographical material is utterly lacking, although this is somewhat compensated for by the inclusion of a synopsis of Irish literature for each century. While the sketch maps are good, they are too few in number. The authors are avowedly nationalistic, and this is evident throughout the

work. One would hardly recommend the volume as a scholarly, unbiased account.

The second revised edition of Benjamin Brawley's well-known volume, *A Short History of the American Negro* (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. xvii, 284 pp.), includes the story of the recent changes which have taken place in the life of the negro people of the United States. Accounts of their expansion industrially and territorially, of their ventures into the field of business, of their part in the Great War, and of their accomplishments along religious, educational, professional, and literary lines, indicate the character of the material added since the revision of 1919.

Books on History and Government Published in the United States From October 29 to November 26, 1927

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Adams, Randolph G. The gateway to American history. Boston: Little, Brown. 171 pp. \$3.00.
Arthur, Robert. The sieges of Yorktown, 1781 and 1862. Fort Monroe, Va.: The Bookshop. 63 pp. 50 cents.
Bell, Major Horace. Reminiscences of a ranger [early times in California]. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Wallace Hebbard. 499 pp. \$3.50.
Bimba, Anthony. The history of the American working class. N. Y.: International Publishers. 360 pp. \$2.75.
Eastman, Edward R. These changing times; a story of farm progress in the first quarter of the twentieth century. N. Y.: Macmillan. 268 pp. \$2.50.
Greene, K. G. Winchester, Virginia, and its beginnings. Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Pub. House. 450 pp. \$3.50.
Griswold, Bert J. Fort Wayne, gateway of the West, 1802-1813; garrison orderly book; Indian agency account book. Indianapolis: Indiana Lib. and Hist. Dept.: Historical Bureau. Apply to publisher.
Hart, Albert B., editor. Commonwealth history of Massachusetts; colony province and state. N. Y.: States History Co.
Shuford, Augusta. Colonial North Carolina. Cincinnati: Ebbert and Richardson Co. 33 pp.
Stimson, Henry L. American policy in Nicaragua. N. Y.: Scribner. 129 pp. \$1.25.
Sullivan, Mark. Our times, vol. 2, America finding herself. N. Y.: Scribner. 685 pp. \$5.00.
Tanner, Virginia. A pageant at Bennington, Vermont, in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the battle of Bennington. Concord, N. H.: Rumford Press. 92 pp.
Whitaker, Arthur P. The Spanish-American frontier, 1783-1795. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 255 pp. \$3.50.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Burns, A. R. Money and monetary policy in early times. N. Y.: Knopf. 530 pp. (3 p. bibl.). \$7.50.
Rodd, Sir James P. Homer's Ithaca, a vindication of tradition [in the light of modern exploration]. N. Y.: Longmans. 160 pp. \$2.40.
Tarn, William W. Hellenistic civilization. N. Y.: Longmans. 320 pp. (5 p. bibl.). \$6.00.

ENGLISH HISTORY

- Albery, William. A parliamentary history of the ancient borough of Horsham, 1295-1885. N. Y.: Longmans. 573 pp. \$5.00.
Brebner, John B. New England's outpost [Acadia before the conquest of Canada]. N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press. 291 pp. (7 p. bibl.). \$4.50.
Feiling, Keith G. England under the Tudors and Stuarts. N. Y.: Holt. 251 pp. (2 p. bibl.). \$1.00.
McAdoo, William. The procession to Tyburn; crime and punishment in the eighteenth century. N. Y.: Liveright. 306 pp. \$3.00.

- Marvin, Francis S. *India and the West*. N. Y.: Longmans. 190 pp. \$2.75.
 Wrong, Edward M. *History of England, 1688-1815*. N. Y.: Holt. 256 pp. \$1.00.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

- Arnot, R. Page. *Soviet Russia and her neighbors*. N. Y.: Vanguard Press. 199 pp. 50 cents.
 Kerensky, Alexander F. *The catastrophe, Kerensky's own story of the Russian revolution*. N. Y.: Appleton. 387 pp. \$3.00.

THE WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

- Auld, George P. *The Dawes plan, and the new economics*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 334 pp. \$2.50.
 Edmonds, J. E., and Wynne, G. C., compilers. *Military operations, France and Belgium, 1915*. N. Y.: Macmillan. 476 pp. \$5.00.
 Ford, Col. Joseph H. *The medical department of the U. S. Army in the world war*. Vol. 2. Administration A. E. F. Wash., D. C.: Govt. Pr. Off., Supt. of Docs. 1123 pp. \$3.40.
 Frothingham, Thomas G. *The American reinforcement during the World War*. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday. 427 pp. \$3.00.
 Hanusch, Ferdinand, editor. *Die regelung der arbeitsverhältnisse im Kriege*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press. 472 pp. \$6.00.
 Lasswell, Harold D. *Propaganda technique in the World War*. N. Y.: Knopf. 233 pp. (6 p. bibl.). \$5.00.
 Lehman, Ernst A., and Mings, Howard. *The Zeppelins [during the World War]*. N. Y.: J. H. Sears. 341 pp. \$4.00.
 von Sanders, Liman. *Five years in Turkey [author was chief of the German military mission]*. Annapolis, Md.: U. S. Naval Institute. 326 pp. \$3.50.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia). *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland, a professor in the Universities of Paris and Toulouse in the 13th century*.

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Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of Cal. Press. \$4.25.

- O'Leary, DeLacy E. *Arabia before Muhammed*. N. Y.: Dutton. 243 pp. (8 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
 Wismar, Adolph L. *A study in tolerance as practiced by Muhammed and his immediate successors*. N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press. 124 pp. \$1.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Brown, John M. *People and problems of the Pacific*. 2 vols. N. Y.: J. H. Sears. 338, 305 pp. \$10.00 set.
 Diaz del Costillo, Captain Bernal. *The true history of the conquest of Mexico*. 2 vols. [Written in 1568 by a companion of Cortez.] N. Y.: McBride. 591 pp. \$10.00.
 Green, Fitzhugh, and Frost, H. H. *Some famous sea fights*. [Eight great naval battles from Salamis to Jutland.] N. Y.: Century. 352 pp. \$3.50.
 Ogburn, William F., and Goldenweiser, A. *The social sciences and their interrelations*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 514 pp. \$3.50.
 Toynbee, Arnold J. *Survey of international affairs, 1925; Vol. 1. The Islamic world since the peace settlement*. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 628 pp. \$8.50.

BIOGRAPHY

- Adams, John, and Waterhouse, Benjamin. *Statesman and friend; correspondence of John Adams with Benjamin Waterhouse, 1784-1822*. Boston: Little, Brown. 184 pp. \$3.00.
 New York Public Library. *Calendar of messages and proclamations of General George Clinton, first governor of the State of New York*. New York: Author. 31 pp. 25 cents.
 Dawson, W. H. *Richard Cobden and foreign policy*. N. Y.: Frank-Maurice. 350 pp. \$5.00.
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